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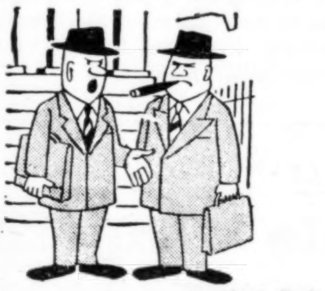
NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 4, 1955

ONE-PARTY RULE IN WASHINGTON

Democrats-for-Ike make it the dullest Congress since the days of Cal Coolidge

By Lawrence Emery

AS THIS SESSION of the 84th Congress drew near adjournment, the U.S. last week was operating under what amounts to a one-party government. The Democrats were not only at peace with themselves (with Dixie conservatives in command), but were at peace with the Republican in the White House. Rarely was such harmony seen; old-timers couldn't recall a duller Congress since the days of Coolidge.


Carrefour, Paris

"It's the little ones get hurt in a market slump. The ones with the little castles, the little Cadillacs, the little yachts. . . ."

When this session convened last January, the Democrats, in control of both houses, seemed to be breathing fire; they were going to explode red-hot political issues one after another. But the fire burned out and the explosions never came. They seemed much more intent on proving that they were better Eisenhower men than the Republicans were. It caused many to remember that the Democratic Party had once been eager to run Eisenhower as its own candidate before he decided that he was a Republican.

DEMS LIKE IKE: The few contests were mostly of a token nature; but Eisenhower won on most issues and it didn't seem to matter which party controlled Congress. He won on farm policy; he hasn't been curbed on his support of private as against public power; the Democrats lost on their pledge to win statehood for Hawaii and Alaska; Eisenhower's tax program triumphed; his plan for a beginning of universal military training seems headed for success (see page 10); on housing, health, school needs and labor relations he has prevailed; the looting of natural resources goes on; immigration policy remains unchanged; in the departments of loyalty, internal security and witch-hunting, the Democrats had already given Eisenhower and Brownell more than they asked for. Bipartisanship in foreign policy has existed since the beginning of the cold war, with Democrats often more war-like than the Republicans.

Majority leader Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas is credited with having wrought the unity between Dixiecrats and so-called liberal Democrats; by last week he was in such favor in right-wing circles that he was being stamped as presidential timber. Under the Johnson leadership, the united Democrats were solidly under the control of men like Harry Byrd of Virginia, Richard Russell of Louisiana, and Walter George of Georgia.

CROSSING THE STREET: How the

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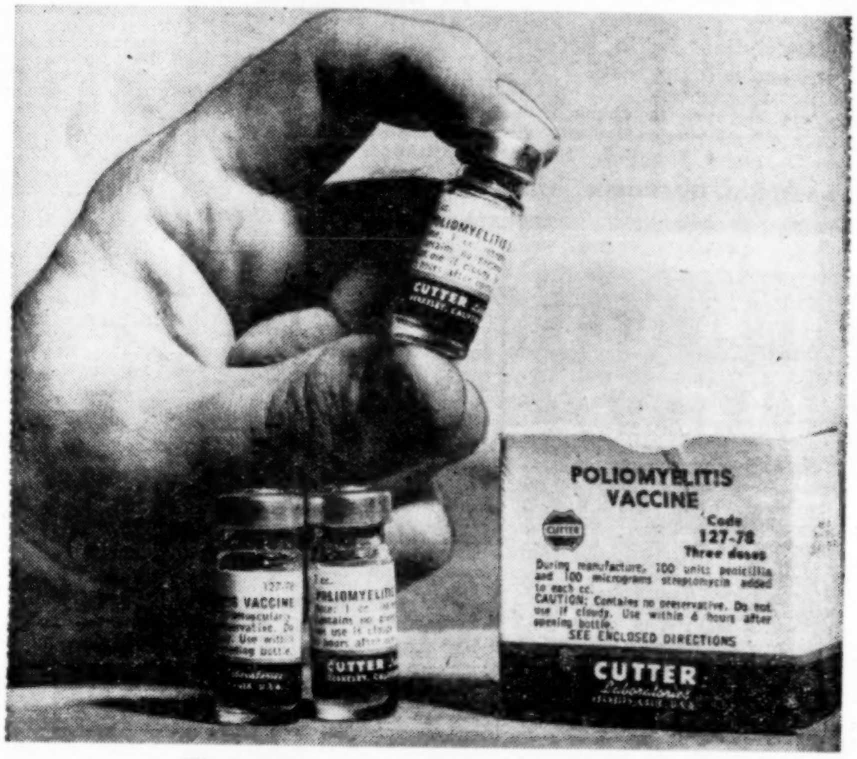
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SEE ENCLOSED DIRECTIONS
CUTTER Laboratories

The polio mess—shame of a nation

Above is one of the vials of Salk vaccine produced by the Cutter laboratories in California which was seized last April in New York. As Secy. Hobby worries about "socialized" inoculations and the summer polio season is approaching, the program is still hopelessly bogged down. For the full story (and the story of how the program was worked out in Canada and Denmark) see p. 3.

DEPORTATION FIGHT

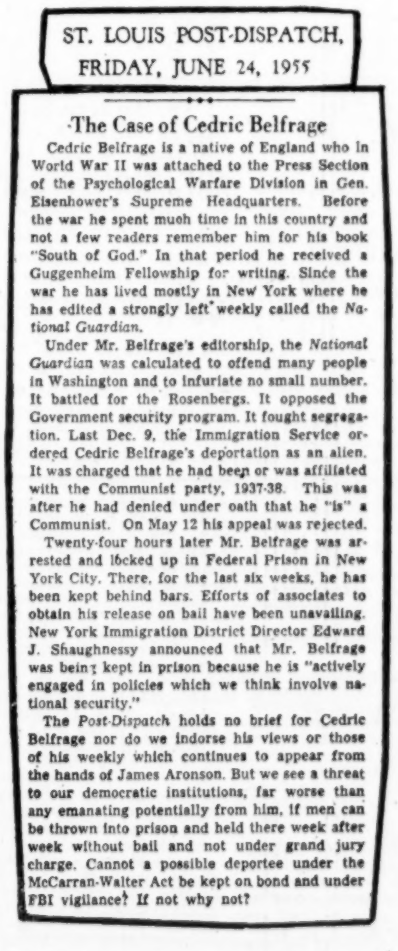
St. Louis P-D calls Belfrage jailing a threat to all

AT LEAST TWO leading U.S. newspapers last week had dared to put themselves on record editorially as opposed to the continuing detention of GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage in a federal prison without bail while awaiting a court review of an order for his deportation to England. On June 24 the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** saw his imprisonment and treatment as a criminal as a "threat to our democratic institutions" (see right). Earlier the **N.Y. Times** (June 11) had protested the jailing of Belfrage and six other deportees in New York's Federal House of Detention as a violation of the constitutional guarantee of due process of law (GUARDIAN, June 20).

But powerful as these two voices are, they were still not strong enough to bring about the removal of Belfrage and the other detainees from barred cells.

THE DELEGATION: A week ago the GUARDIAN was prepared to send a large delegation of prominent citizens to N.Y. Immigration District Director Edward J. Shaughnessy to discuss the Belfrage case, but Shaughnessy refused to see more than two persons. On June 23 he was called upon by Clifford T. McAvoy and Dr. Royal Wilbur France. McAvoy was a member of Mayor La Guardia's administration and was American Labor Party candidate for President of the New York City Council in 1951 and for Mayor in 1953. Dr. France, now 72, has a distinguished

(Continued on Page 11)


ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH,
FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 1955

The Case of Cedric Belfrage

Cedric Belfrage is a native of England who in World War II was attached to the Press Section of the Psychological Warfare Division in Gen. Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters. Before the war he spent much time in this country and not a few readers remember him for his book "South of God." In that period he received a Guggenheim Fellowship for writing. Since the war he has lived mostly in New York where he has edited a strongly left weekly called the *National Guardian.*

Under Mr. Belfrage's editorship, the *National Guardian* was calculated to offend many people in Washington and to infuriate no small number. It battled for the Rosenbergs. It opposed the Government security program. It fought segregation. Last Dec. 9, the Immigration Service ordered Cedric Belfrage's deportation as an alien. It was charged that he had been or was affiliated with the Communist party, 1937-38. This was after he had denied under oath that he "is" a Communist. On May 12 his appeal was rejected.

Twenty-four hours later Mr. Belfrage was arrested and locked up in Federal Prison in New York City. There, for the last six weeks, he has been kept behind bars. Efforts of associates to obtain his release on bail have been unavailing. New York Immigration District Director Edward J. Shaughnessy announced that Mr. Belfrage was being kept in prison because he is "actively engaged in policies which we think involve national security."

The *Post-Dispatch* holds no brief for Cedric Belfrage nor do we indorse his views or those of his weekly which continues to appear from the hands of James Aronson. But we see a threat to our democratic institutions, far worse than any emanating potentially from him, if men can be thrown into prison and held there week after week without bail and not under grand jury charge. Cannot a possible deportee under the McCarran-Walter Act be kept on bond and under FBI vigilance? If not why not?

A great newspaper speaks its piece

JURY WOULDN'T BELIEVE HIM

Gold, key Rosenberg witness, discredited in Dayton trial

HARRY GOLD, key witness for the FBI in the atom-spy trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell, was found unworthy of belief by a federal jury on June 16 in another "spy" trial in Dayton, Ohio. The judicial rejection of Gold's credibility followed a defense presentation as evidence of portions of John Wexley's book, **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.**

The Dayton jury refused to believe Gold's story that he tried to recruit a Wright-Patterson Air Force Base engineer as a spy between 1939 and 1941. Benjamin Smilg, a top authority on aircraft vibration and "flutter," was acquitted on three counts of perjury growing out of denials that he had known Gold as a Soviet spy during an acquaintance beginning in 1938.

IN LOW ESTEEM: Gold had been brought to Dayton as a government witness from Lewisburg, Pa., federal prison, where he is serving 30 years as a self-confessed Soviet spy. Smilg was indicted on Gold's testimony to a federal grand jury in 1952. Smilg had told a loyalty board on three occasions in 1950-51, following Gold's arrest and "atom-spy" confession, that he knew Gold only as a student at Xavier University in Cincinnati and regarded him as a "screwball pink."

The introduction of Wexley's material on Gold set forth certain admitted falsehoods during the 1950 trial of an employer, Abraham Brothman, generally regarded as a "try-out" for the Rosenberg-Sobell trial later. This was a life-saver for Smilg, according to defense attorney William F. Hopkins. Gold had "run on like a phonograph record" during his direct testimony, Hopkins said, but after reading Wexley's book, he knew Gold would be "duck soup."

THE WIFE WHO WASN'T: Hopkins obtained the book the day before its official publication date. Before that he had "thought for two years about how to cross-examine Gold," he said. In court, Hopkins confronted Gold with his testimony at the Brothman trial that he lied until "steam came out" of his ears. The jury learned of Gold's mythical wife and twin daughters and

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Vol. 7, No. 37 178 JULY 4, 1955

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

—THE FIRST AMENDMENT.

REPORT TO READERS

Wingdale wingding

THERE WAS EASE in Lionel's manner in the game of one-o'-cat; and when, responding to the cheers, he lightly doffed his hat, no stranger in the crowd could doubt 'twas Stander at the bat.

It would be a joy to be able to continue—in these few lines about the GUARDIAN's Wingdale Weekend June 24-5-6—that the redoubtable Lionel Stander then poled the ball far over the heads of the outfielders and through the murmuring pines into Ellis Lake.

Instead, he reached for a fast one, low and to his right, and came up with that most ancient of baseballers' miseries—a Charley Horse. Thereafter throughout the weekend, mighty Stander made it around the grounds with measured tread, resting his behemoth fingertips on the shoulders of the diminutive Wingdale Lodge nurse—and looking alarmingly like King Kong about to abduct Fay Wray.

FOR THE REST of the 150 or so who participated in the Weekend, we can report full enjoyment, deep appreciation to the Lodge staff who turned themselves inside out for us; and a paean to Mother Nature, who personally cradled Wingdale in one of the most restful valleys imaginable, amid towering butternuts and hickeries, maples and evergreens, watched over by great, comforting Berkshire hills.

On the lawn Sunday morning Kumar Goshal of the GUARDIAN staff led a most informative discussion on the meanings and hopes of this summer's world conferences; Clifford T. McAvoy and John T. McManus spoke of the Belfrage Case and other GUARDIAN concerns; and a generous collection came forth from the assembled weekenders, including a $1 bill retrieved by lodge entertainment director Elliott Sullivan from an absconding 3-year old who seemed headed for the candy counter with it.

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WHICH REMINDS US to remind YOU that out in your own neck of woods we are hoping for a summer something, too, for the GUARDIAN's Sustaining Fund. It would be fine, of course, if you could run a wingding like our Wingdale Weekend. But a backyard barbecue or a beach party may be more your speed, or having some friends in for a Bandoeng-to-Big-Four discussion some Saturday night. Whatever you decide, let us know—and let us help. A postcard will start the intercom buzzing.

THE MAIL BAG
U.S.M.

Fine words dept.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

President Eisenhower in his address said in his San Francisco UN speech: "We and a majority of all nations, I believe, are united in another hope: That every government will abstain from itself attempting, or aiding others to attempt, the subversion, coercion, infiltration or destruction of other governments. . . ."

Yet it has been and still is the U.S. Government which, through moral and political obtuseness, refuses to recognize the government in fact of the People's Republic of China, while diplomatically, militarily and financially maintains the wretched remnants of the Chiang gang. **A. Garcia Diaz**

3 things to do

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

Let us all do our duty for truth, justice and peace:

1. Renew your GUARDIAN subscription now!
2. Try to obtain one or more new GUARDIAN readers.
3. Write your Congressman, your Senators and your newspapers, protesting the deportation frame-up against the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage.

John L. Widner, Rt. 3

Good discussion

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

That is a good discussion you started about a third party. Am afraid though I have to agree with those who argue that socialism as the goal of a new party will isolate us from the main stream of people who are, at this stage, still frightened at the mere name. Also agree with those who say that a labor base (a strong one) is absolutely essential. "Labor is the source of all value," and there is no getting away from that. Labor is also the foundation of any basic movement toward a fundamental and transitional change. **Zena Druckman**

Guest expert

MARIN COUNTY, CALIF.

Even the most tireless political writer of this century paused wearily, once, in the middle of a 20,000-word polemic, and sighed:

"To disentangle and explain the subject in a popular manner, about ten printed pages would be needed for every ten lines of confusion. We cannot in such detail disentangle every one of P. Kievsky's arguments—literally, not a single one of his arguments is free from confusion."

That is how I feel after reading recent attacks on the GUARDIAN's Call. Perhaps, despite your limited space, you could add the opening paragraph of that same article, "A Caricature of Marxism," in which Lenin said:

"'No one will compromise revolutionary Social-Democracy if it does not compromise itself.' This aphorism should always be recalled and borne in mind when some important theoretical or tactical proposition is gaining ascendancy, or at least is coming to the forefront, and is being 'attacked' **not only** [Lenin's emphasis] by avowed and serious enemies, but also by ostensible friends who hopelessly compromise it, who, in plain language, disgrace it and make a caricature of it."

Such, in my opinion, is the only too-familiar "treatment," of which McManus is only the latest of a longa nd honorable list of victims. All the more reason to fight harder still for such a genuine program as that of which the GUARDIAN is the most prominent current advocate still able to speak out.

Ole Hunter

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

OTTAWA (CP) — The vice-chairman of the tariff board said Monday that large-scale potato production could eventually lead to the Communist way of life.

The Sudbury Daily Star, Ontario, Can., June 4, '55.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous, Ontario.

NOTICE

Beginning with the July 11 issue, and continuing through the Aug. 27 issue, the GUARDIAN will appear in 8-page editions. The Labor Day issue, Sept. 5, will resume the regular 12 pages. Should special events make it urgent, a 12-page issue may appear at times during the summer.

Last week, through an error, the June 27 issue was listed as Vol. 7, No. 33 It should have read No. 36. This issue is correctly listed as Vol. 7, No. 37.

An old warrior

MACKAY, IDAHO

Enclosed is $5 to renew my sub and a little help to Belfrage. I am an old man past 80 years but willing to do a little to help free the slaves. I am a veteran of the old **Appeal to Reason days**. I woke up when they kidnaped Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and now it's Belfrage—a start to put the GUARDIAN out of business. It looks as if people are so cowed they are afraid to talk. My fighting days are pretty well over, so here is my little bit. **H. C. Schade**

To the senile ones

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The sirens were wailing and I had just parked my car. A little boy of about 6, playing on the sidewalk with a little girl of about 5, made this remark:

"You are going to get killed by a bomb because you are a baby."

If those senile gentlemen in Washington would just pause and think long enough before they go into oblivion, they would spare those kids not only their freedom but their very lives, as well as that of the future generations. **J. K.**

The Hupman Case

DAYTON, O.

We would like to call to your attention the case of Melvin E. Hupman, Dayton union leader, sentenced to five years in jail and $5,000 fine on a frame-up charge of falsely signing a T-H affidavit six years ago. This is the first T-H affidavit case to reach the Supreme Court, and last month they refused to review the case. I know you understand the significance of this denial of due process of law to this important labor case.

We must rely on our progressive press to arouse the people to fight for a review of this case. All labor leaders who have signed T-H affidavits are now wide open to prosecution on paid informer and stool-pigeon testimony.

Melvin Hupman has worked 20 years in Frigidaire. Both he and his wife, Pearl, have been outstanding labor leaders in Dayton and southern Ohio for 15 years. They led many campaigns against discrimination of the Negro people in their shop and the community.

In Hupman's first trial in Dayton, a jury refused to convict him (5-7 hung jury) and the prosecution moved a second trial to Cincinnati, the home town of Bob Taft, to get its conviction.

We suggest that you contact Marshall Perlin, N.Y. attorney, or Scribner, UE counsel for up-to-date legal information about this case. At this writing Hupman is still out on bond although a pick-up order may come through at any time.

We friends and fellow workers of Dayton resolve to intensify our struggle to free Hupman, but we need national support. All labor must be aroused to enter this fight.

For further information contact Mrs. Pearl Hupman, Clarksville, O., or UE District 7 office, 1220 W. Third St., Dayton, O.

Dayton Reader

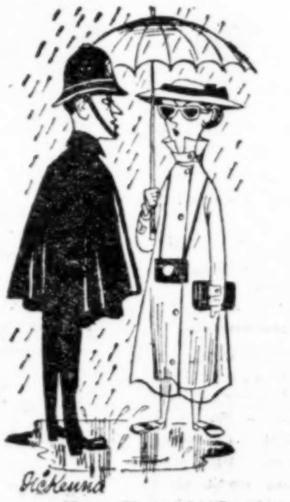
"Salt of the Earth"

SPOKANE, WASH.

Labor unity advanced a step last month when **Salt of the Earth**, international prize-winning film produced by the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, was viewed by the members of the Spokane Central Labor Council, AFL. About 50 council members attended as the picture was unreeled by members of Smeltermen's Local 218, Kellogg, Idaho.

As far as is known here, this is the first AFL or CIO body to officially request showing of the movie anywhere in the U.S.

Paul R. Emerson



News Chronicle, London

"No, madam, we don't have much sunshine in Britain, just daylight."

The $1 minimum wage

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Just what good would it do to workers to raise the minimum wage to $1 if they are not getting 75c now? A 75c per hour minimum wage should cover all workers, but it doesn't because there are men I know who work for 50c an hour. A woman hired on the same job, same kind of work, would have to be paid 75c per hour. Why the discrimination against men? It just doesn't mean a thing if the minimum is raised unless there's teeth put into this law to cover everyone. Let's call the attention of this deplorable condition to the people so they know what goes on.

E. Rockwell

Robert Thompson's pension

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I am writing your newspaper because I do not think it would condone an act of flagrant persecution against a veteran, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross, whose war record both as to valor, leadership and integrity is listed in the annals of the War Dept. as superior, excellent and "without equal on field of battle" (direct quote from records).

Recently, my husband Robert Thompson was notified that his pension for 100% disability incurred in front line service was to be discontinued because he had allegedly violated Section 4 of Public Law 144. The charge is "guilty of mutiny, treason, sabotage to an enemy of the U.S. or its Allies." These slanderous allegations relate to the character of my husband's service record.

If the Veterans Administration is persecuting my husband because he is a Communist and as such is now serving a sentence under the Smith Act, I would like to point out that the knowledge of his politics was well known at the time of his war service and was in no way a factor therein.

Secondly, if the persecution is based on the fact that he was convicted under the Smith Act, and the VA says it is, none of the aforementioned offenses cited entered into the Smith Act trial. He was not convicted for any of these offenses. This is only the interpretation of the VA.

These proceedings are ominous in that they create a dangerous pattern to all veterans, old age pensioners and receivers of social security who may express public differences with the present administration.

I am deeply concerned that the public be aware of this to help reinstate the pension of one who justly earned it when he was giving his life for his country.

Leona Thompson

New appleseed needed?

ASHEVILLE, N.C.

Around the period of 1812, the British were inciting the Indians to violence against the settlers in their lonely clearings. Johnny Appleseed often appeared at midnight, rapped on a cabin door, and cried out in a piercing voice:

". . . the Lord hath appointed me to blow the trumpet in the wilderness and sound an alarm in the forest. for behold the tribes of the heathen are about your doors and a devouring flame followed after them—fly for your lives!"

The pioneer folk took this eerie warning seriously; they knew well enough that all those who didn't flee to the fort, would soon be the victims of the massacre.

But today, in spite of frequent ghoulish warnings that a flash of fire will presage utter liquidation; somehow no one gets excited; few people can believe that any one, anywhere in the world, wants war, except the war makers themselves. In all these hideous warnings, our own native, super-colossal technique of advertising is all too apparent.

Rueben Ellis

Salud!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Phyllis Gamon's letter and the "Stitch in Time" (June 6) put me to shame. So here is our (my wife concurring) $25. And we do not need plastic mattresses for our children. So may I tell Phyllis through this column: "SALUD."

Jack Fox

NEW FACTS ON CUTTER'S RECORD

Polio vaccine—national scandal

By Elmer Bendiner

ELEVEN WEEKS after the Salk anti-polio vaccine was given its TV premiere, distribution was bogged down in scandal, doubts, bickering and a great Washington controversy as to which is the lesser evil: polio or "socialized medicine."

After the superbly handled press agentry of the April 12 announcement of the vaccine, U. S. distribution was left to "free enterprise" and all controls were "voluntary." Black markets, high prices and delays were freely predicted even by the scientists who fathered the vaccine. But few warned that leaving the vaccine in the hands of the drug companies might lead not only to inefficiency but to death.

The nation was panicked and the whole program reduced to a shambles when scores of children inoculated with vaccine from the Cutter Laboratories of Berkeley, Calif., came down with paralyzing polio. (The latest figure is 88 plus 32 others believed to have contracted it by contact with children vaccinated with defective serum.)

THE RECORD: The responsibility went beyond the Cutter laboratories to the Public Health Service which licensed Cutter to produce the vaccine. Cutter had a record of violations on file with the U. S. Food & Drug Administration that should have disqualified it from the program. Here are sample items from that report:

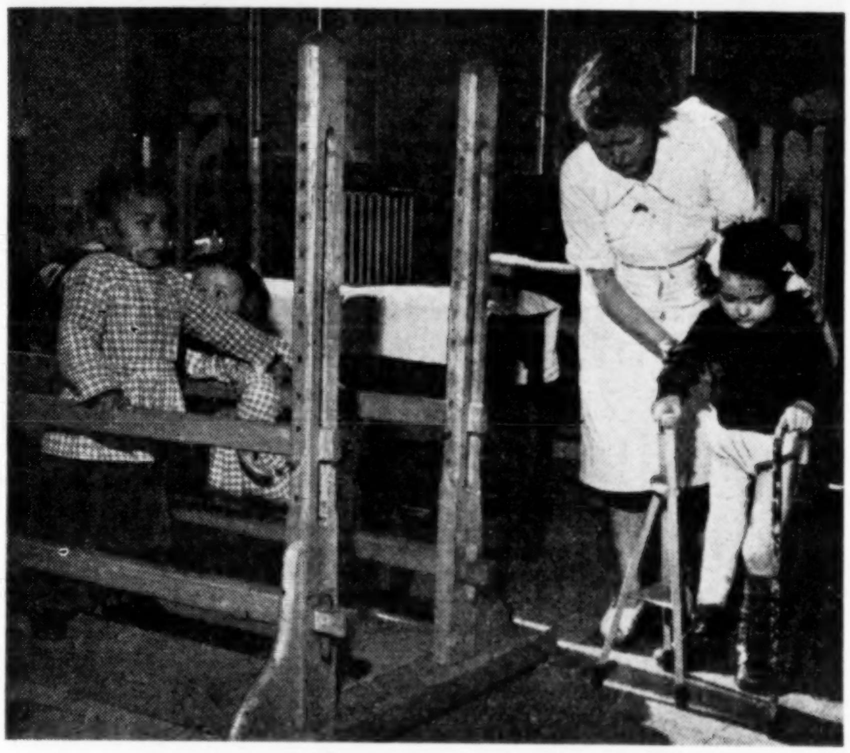
- May 24, 1954: Cutter Labs. charged with adulteration and misbranding of a "Dextrose and Sodium Chloride Injection" which "fell far below the official standard since it was not sterile but was contaminated with viable micro-organisms . . . dangerous to health when used in dosage and with frequency and duration suggested in the labeling. . . ." Cutter failed to contest the charge, was fined $600.
- July 30, 1946: 37 cases of "Isotonic Solution of Sodium Chloride" made by Cutter were confiscated because their "quality and purity fell far below the official standard since it was contaminated with undissolved material." No claimant appeared. Product destroyed.
- April 21, 1944: 195 vials of the same product found similarly contaminated, destroyed.
- April 20, 1945: 33 cartons and 73 flasks of "Dextrose in Isotonic Solution of Sodium Chloride" found to contain undissolved material, destroyed.
- Nov. 5, 1945: 14 cases of Dextrose in Lactate, found to contain undissolved material, destroyed.

HEAVY PRESSURE: Cutter products were condemned ten times by the Food & Drug Administration. The company produced no vaccine during the field tests last year; yet, along with the five other companies that had worked with the test, Cutter got its license.

During a hearing before the House Commerce Committee, Rep. Arthur Klein (D-N. Y.) said he had heard from a "responsible source" that a "very, very prominent politician" from California had pressured Health, Education and Welfare Secy. Hobby into licensing Cutter to produce the Salk vaccine. Rep. J. Vaughan Gary (D-Va.) said the "rumor" named Vice President Nixon as the "very, very prominent politician." Officials from the Vice President on down issued vigorous denials.

Last week the N. Y. **Post** revealed another instance of Cutter riding an inside track. Early last April, before the Salk vaccine was pronounced effective, the Public Health Service had already been checking batches of vaccine. It cleared one batch, rejected two other batches of Cutter's product. With that dubious record the PHS on April 12 nevertheless cleared eight batches of Cutter vaccine on which government testing had not yet been completed.

EXTREMELY LOYAL: While Cutter was lax in its manufacturing methods it was scrupulously correct on the "loyalty" question. In 1949, while charged with adulterating its products, it fired a clerk-typist, Mrs. Doris Walker, on the grounds of "communism." Mrs. Walker was a leader of the Bio-Lab Local 225, United Office & Profesisonal Workers, which then had a contract with Cutter.


United Nations photo

POLIO AND POLITICS DON'T MIX
The serum's a success—but kids are still maimed

Mrs. Walker won an arbitration award ordering her reinstatement but the Supreme Court of California reversed that ruling and the case is now pending before the U. S. Supreme Court.

Cutter's attorneys are fighting another legal battle at the same time. Mr. and Mrs. George E. Fitzgerald are suing Cutter and Ray's Drug Store of Oakland, Cal., for $100,000 in behalf of their son, Ronald, aged four, who was stricken with polio one week after being inoculated with Cutter vaccine on April 18.

BACK-DOOR SOCIALISM: Cutter's troubles were minor compared to the nation's. Only a small part of the country's first- and second-grade children have yet received their two shots of the vaccine though the school term is ending this week and the polio season is on. The others of pre-school age and those up to the age of 19, all vulnerable to the disease, are unprotected. The public is daily confused by conflicting reports from administrators and scientists on the serum's effectiveness. Congressional committees hold publicized hearings while bills, like Sen. Lister Hill's calling for free governmental distribution of the vaccine, are bottled up.

Basil O'Connor, head of the Natl. Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, has come out for governmental distribution but Dr. Elmer Hess, newly-elected president of the American Medical Assn., said the "extreme confusion" over the vaccine "is only a sample of what might happen if the government took over control of medicine." Secy. Hobby, testifying before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, said that proposals to vaccinate children free of charge would be "socialized medicine by the back door." Columnist Drew Pearson (6/12) summed up the situation in the U. S.:

> "But the human tragedy must also be measured not merely in deaths and illness, but in uncertainty. A great discovery to save lives and remove the awful parental dread of the summer has been transformed into continued dread, continued uncertainty. Investigating Congressmen should ascertain who was responsible."

IT CAN BE DONE: Dr. Jonas Salk and his collaborators had to look outside the country—principally to Canada and Denmark—to find their hopes realized: children and young adults being vaccinated quickly, free of charge and without a single slip-up. Connaught Laboratories, a non-profit institution connected with the University of Toronto, had been preparing live polio virus to be killed and used in U. S. labs during the field tests of 1954. Six months before the Salk vaccine was officially approved but when the victory was plainly forecast, Canadian authorities set Connaught to work making the vaccine, organized the machinery for inoculating all children free of charge by the government. When the announcement came on April 12, the program went ahead without a hitch.

Medical teams were readied to rush into any area where the vaccine might misfire. Connaught followed the Salk formula scrupulously, applying the safety checks prescribed for factories in the U. S. Unlike the U. S., however, Canadian Public Health Service authorities re-tested every batch on monkeys and by culture examination. PHS caught four faulty batches that had escaped the Connaught safety checks.

NO SLIP-UPS: To date all of Canada's first- and second-graders have received both shots. By March 60% of Canadians under 16 will have been inoculatd. Saskatchewan Province will go on to inoculate all under 34. There have been no instances of polio in inoculated persons. The program was delayed only when the U. S. chaos held up shipments from U. S. companies designed to supplement Connaught's output. Cost to the government is $1.50 for three shots and is expected to fall soon to 75c. (Cost to public agencies in U. S.: $2.85.)

Less than two weeks after the vaccine's announcement in the U. S., Denmark had begun its government program. It has vaccinated all children between seven and eleven without a single accident. Last week they started on the six-month to six-year-old group.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

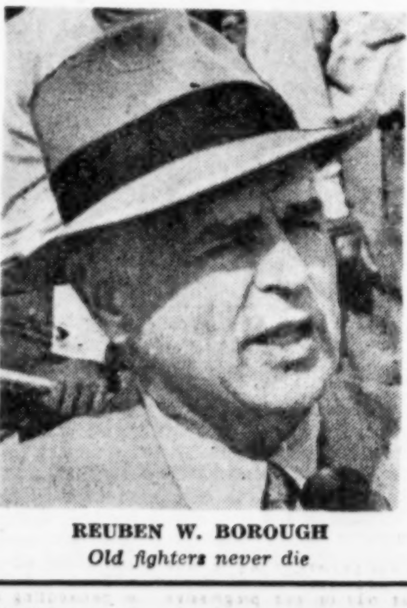
Rube Borough's Fourth of July Oration

FOR NEARLY 40 YEARS every good fight in the state of California has had "Rube" Borough in the thick of it. Now the snowy-haired, majestic patriarch of his state's progressive movement (he got a half million votes as IPP candidate for the U. S. Senate in 1952), Reuben W. Borough is still its most untiring fighter for democratic freedoms, for public power and valley development and against monopoly and war.

A few California audiences this year have had the good fortune to hear Reuben Borough's masterful "Fourth of July Oration"*. A reminder of the two-fisted tradition of the fight for liberty in our country, the "Oration" is a call to today's citizenry for rededication to the faith of Jefferson and Paine and an all-out fight against repression, privilege and the enemies of world peace.

RING THE BELL: Into the 14 pages of the pamphlet, Borough has packed a thorough arraignment of our country's imperialist course, a succinct history of how Americans fought this in the past; and a call to action:

"Our task is to set the old Bell ringing again. . . . A sweeping affirmation covering past, present and future:


REUBEN W. BOROUGH
Old fighters never die

"This country is the homeland of the common people—never intended from the beginning days to be anything else. No room here for aristocracies, no room for caste or class, privileged groups of any sort — religious, political, military, social. And we prove it by the map and page and the line of the book.

"We launch a patriot's project to recapture our heritage. We bring back into reality this historic America of ours, the dynamic democracy of our people as they have functioned for more than three centuries on this continent."

To light a firecracker under your lagging friends—and for those who don't know their own heritage—Reuben Borough's "Fourth of July Oration" is the biggest nickel's worth you can buy anywhere ($4 will bring you 100 copies.)—**J. T. M.**

**FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, by Reuben W. Borough. The Pamphleteer, 4202 Latona Av., L. A. 31. Calif. 5c.*

THE JOB FOR PROGRESSIVES IN '56 — AND AFTER

Minnesota Progressive Party takes issue with ALP

At a State Conference in Minneapolis May 15, the Minnesota Progressive Party endorsed the NATIONAL GUARDIAN's Call for an open national caucus to discuss placing a national independent party on the ballot in the 1956 presidential elections. The Conference proposed that a caucus be held in Chicago during Labor Day week to disuss "an independent campaign, developing a clear-cut appeal for co-existence and social progress and against imperialism, police-stateism, monopoly, sagging farm income and unemployment." It went on:

"Such a campaign can produce no miracles. But it can halt and reverse the trend toward confusion and disintegration of the progressive forces which has been so marked since a portion of the progressive movement turned toward the Democratic Party."

On June 15 the Administrative Committee of the Minnesota PP drew up the statement appearing herewith. An accompanying letter says that copies of this statement and the original May 15 resolution are being sent to all state PP organizations "in an effort to get some expression of attitude from other areas on the issue."

IN RESPONSE to the Peter K. Hawley report on the role of the American Labor Party (GUARDIAN, 6/6), we Minnesota Progressives wish to elaborate our stand in support of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN's call for an independent peace, jobs and rights party in 1956.

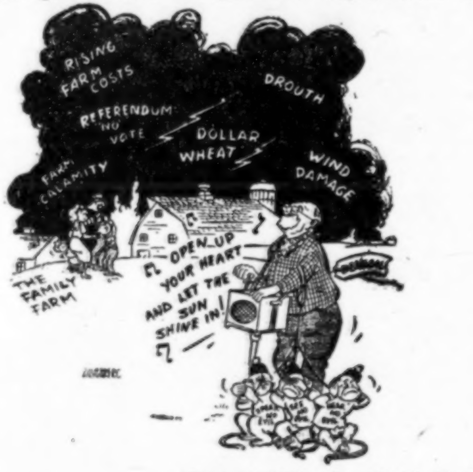
The crux of the discussion is to indicate the tasks of progressives between now and the time when the basic organizations of labor, the farmers, the Negro people and others are stirred to action in a great independent political movement which will shape our country's destiny. Whatever our disagreements over methods, all progressives are agreed that we can and will do our utmost in the struggle for co-existence in the world and extension of democracy and welfare at home. We work for these ends with the understanding that ultimate success in the struggle requires mobilization of popular forces far broader than those we can reach at present with the present means at our disposal.

We will support independent local and state campaigns where the forces exist to make them a significant factor in the elections. In our experience this policy has proved feasible in some farm regions because of the depression conditions in agriculture. Where it is not feasible we will engage in the vital preparatory educational work in favor of independent political action.

Machine parties reactionary

In no real way can the two major parties serve as forums in which we can educate people to the need for a third party. The price for participation in one of the old machines is support for its candidates, defense of its policies, or at best silence in the face of its crimes. Thus the Hawley report in appraising the Harriman-Tammany machine says that "the Democratic Party leadership was something less than vigorous in its espousal of the people's needs." That kind of understatement is dictated by a turn towards the Democrats. It can never inspire a sentiment for political independence.

The Hawley report does not explain this Democratic "lack of vigor" as a consequence of the reactionary character of the Democratic machine. It attributes it to "the as yet inadequate pressure from the grass roots." Progressives ought never to lay the responsibility for the misdeeds of politicians on the shoulders of the people.



Farmers Union Herald, St. Paul

"WHAT TROUBLE?" SOOTHES BENSON

OPPOSITION NEEDED: Even though the reactionary machines must always stand accountable for their own actions, it is true that grass-roots pressure can modify these policies, although it cannot change the basic character of the machine. But pressure in this sense is just another name for opposition. A strong grass-roots pressure on the Democrats swung Truman far to the left in the 1948 election. This pressure found expression in the Wallace campaign.

The labor movement is a potentially far stronger political force than were the Progressives in '48. Yet because they have supported the Democrats over the years, the powerful unions have been incapable of pressing for significant changes in the Democratic policies or having a say in choosing candidates as the FDR Jr. fiasco of last fall clearly showed. We agree with the Hawley report that pressure on the two old parties should be increased. But we know that without independent political action, including the running of candidates, there can be no real pressure on them.

DISCUSSION around the GUARDIAN's call began in one of the darkest hours of the Cold War. Recent weeks have seen a wonderful brightening of the international horizon. This development does not in the least invalidate the call. It can help to light the way to progress on the domestic front. One of its first results can be to quarantine the war-now factions of both major parties. For this reason we cannot agree with the Hawley report that "for 1956 our major electoral objective is to make peaceful co-existence a major issue in the campaign between parties and candidates."

This formula gives the impression that one of the two parties can be transformed into an effective vehicle for the people's demand for peace. It also implies that progressives would want to see the other party taken over by its war-now faction so that there could be a real difference on foreign policy between the two old parties. In reality, of course, we want nothing of the sort.

Isolate all war forces

Isolation of the war-now forces in both major parties would indeed serve the interests of the whole human race. A growth of independent popular pressure can help bring this about. But even if a "bi-partisan peace policy" should replace the present bi-partisan Cold War, the need to develop the independent third party movement would not come to an end. Experience teaches that neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party can be depended upon to remain anti-war.

Progressives will understand that the peaceful utterances and gestures which will emanate from the two old parties in the months ahead will have no more lasting value than the radical campaign oratory of Truman in '48.

HOW TO CO-EXIST: How the struggle for co-existence ties in with the tasks of progressives in domestic policies has been brilliantly explained by John T. McManus:

"Any concept of co-existence based on 'containment' is a fake. . . . Any enlightened view of peaceful co-existence, therefore, must be based on the comprehension that more acceptable ideas than capitalism are sweeping the world and in time coming our way. . . .

"Any less forthright view of peaceful co-existence lacks either integrity or full understanding of the course of the world. Hence a political party campaigning for peaceful co-existence must be prepared to understand the reality of socialism and further, not to rule out its application in confronting domestic economic problems as well as world relations."

WE BELIEVE that as peace prospects brighten, the jobs and rights struggle and the opportunities for a third party will grow. Progressives can stimulate that growth by resolutely adhering to the course of independent political action. While there is yet time to make the most of the opportunity for a national independent ticket in '56, we Minnesota Progressives urge the ALP and other sections of the progressive movement to give favorable consideration to the GUARDIAN's call.

MINISTERS FIND IT "SHOCKING"

Lee Lorch loses job at Fisk University—second blow for fighter against jimcrow

DR. LEE LORCH, vice chairman, Town and Village Tenants Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town, was fired in 1949 as N.Y. City College mathematics instructor. He was appointed asst. professor of mathematics at Penn. State College and sublet his apartment in the quasi-public $50 million Stuyvesant Town project to a Negro family burned out in Harlem.

Penn. State notified Dr. Lorch before his year was up that his appointment would not be renewed, because, said asst. pres. A. C. Morse, the Lorches' permitting Negroes to live as guests in Stuyvesant Town was "extreme, illegal and immoral, and dangerous to the public relations of the college." Dr. Lorch's landlord, Metropolitan Life Ins. Co., then refused to renew his lease.

UN-AMS PROBE: Dr. Lorch became associate professor of mathematics at Fisk University, noted Negro school in Nashville [illegible] September, 1950. Following the [illegible]reme Court decision outlawing [illegible]row public education, Dr. Lorch [illegible] to enroll his daughter in a Nashville school, hitherto all-Negro. He was almost immediately questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee. The Fisk board of trustees' 12-member exec. committee, only one of whom is Negro, then decided not to renew Dr. Lorch's contract when it expired last month. The reason ostensibly was his defiance of the Un-ACC.

LEE LORCH

Will courage step forward?

The board of trustees has since voted to uphold its exec. committee, though, according to trustee William J. Zeigler in a letter to the Baltimore **Afro-American** (5/14), "there were dissenters who believe Dr. Lorch was dismissed more because of his firm stand for true democratic ideas than for his 'conduct subsequent to his hearing before the sub-committee of Congress.'"

MINISTERS SPEAK UP: The **Afro-American** has been supported in its fight to reinstate Dr. Lorch at Fisk by Negro and white groups throughout the country, including officers of Nashville's interdenominational Ministerial Alliance. Describing the board's action as "shocking," the Negro ministers declared the board "brought dishonor on itself and the university." Their statement appealed to

> ". . . some other university to come forward now and offer Dr. Lorch a post in order to secure his effective scholarship and to show our determination to end segregation."

SACB MEMBER ACTS

Amer.-Soviet Council cited as a 'front'

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES Control Board member David J. Coddaire on June 23 recommended that the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship be adjudged a "Communist-front" organization and directed to register under the Internal Security Act of 1950. Hearings before Coddaire lasted from May to October in 1954.

Natl. Council chairman John A. Kingsbury immediately repeated the denial made in an opening statement when the hearing began. He declared:

> "None of the activities of the Natl. Council—and we introduced in evidence a considerable record of those activities—can possibly be construed as being directed by a foreign power, dominated by the Communist party, or aimed at the overthrow of the government of the United States. The fabrications of a dozen paid informers who turned up in our trial cannot make it otherwise. The charge is fantastic."

THE ABSURDITY: Dr. Kingsbury maintained that "in consistently advocating the restoration of co-operation between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.," the National Council performed a patriotic service and advanced the cause of world peace.

He said the findings were based principally on the fact that the National Council sometimes criticized U.S. foreign policy and added:

> "Contemporary happenings make the Attorney General's position in our case absurd, as leading individuals in the government, including President Eisenhower in a speech at the United Nations gathering in San Francisco, publicly recognize the necessity of finding the modus vivendi of peaceful co-existence."

BUSINESS AS USUAL: The Council that very night (6/23), Dr. Kingsbury said, was holding a public meeting "to support our government in arranging the forthcoming Four Power Conference." Having stood on that principle all along, the Council applauded "the willingness of our Administration now to take part in a meeting of the major powers at which the issues which divide us can be settled by negotiations at the conference table."

The National Council will do nothing at this time about Coddaire's recommendation, Dr. Kingsbury said. It was now the full SACB's responsibility to review the case. Following the Council's legal arguments before the board and the board's decision, the case will be appealed, if necessary, to the courts.

APPEALS COURT DECISION

New victory in the fight for the right to travel

THE U.S. COURT OF APPEALS last week followed its decision on the passport application of Prof. Otto Nathan (GUARDIAN, 6/27) with another that still further curtailed the State Department's power to decide who can travel abroad and who can't.

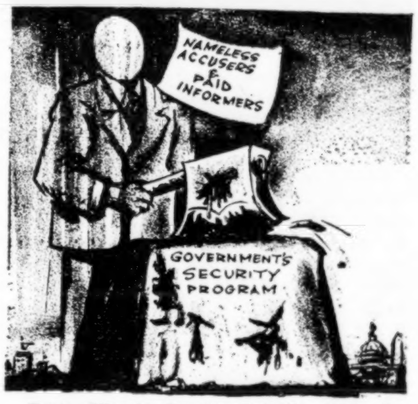
For 3½ years Max Schachtman, one-time representative of Leon Trotzky and now chairman of the anti-Communist Independent Socialist League, had been trying to get a passport. The State Department contended, as it had in the Nathan case and others, that passports were documents relating to foreign policy and that the department had the last word on who should get one.

HEARING ORDERED: Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton, Judges Charles Fahy and George T. Washington ruled otherwise and ordered the District Court to hear Schachtman's appeal from the State Department denial. The lower court had refuesd to hear it.

The Schachtman decision reaffirmed the Nathan ruling that a passport applicant was entitled to a quasi-judicial hearing in which the ordinary rules of evidence would apply and indicated that such hearings could be reviewed by the courts. Then the judges went beyond the Nathan decision to bar the Atty. General's list of "subversive" organizations as a substantial criterion for judging an applicant's passport application. (Though Schachtman had been attempting for six years to get the Independent Socialist League off the list, it is still on, and this was the prime reason offered by the department in refusing him a passport.)

Chief Judge Edgerton, in his opinion seconding that of the others, wrote:

> "The premise that a man is not fit to work for the government does not support the conclusion that he is not fit to go to Europe. The Atty. General's list was prepared for screening Government employes, not passport applicants. Even in connection with screening Government employes, membership in a listed organization was intended to be only an inconclusive item of evidence."


NAMELESS ACCUSERS & PAID INFORMERS
GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY PROGRAM

Partymiller in Gazette & Daily, York, Pa.

NOT THE TRUE AMERICAN WAY

NATURAL RIGHT: Judge Fahy's opinion, in which Judge Washington concurred, contained the clearest enunciation of the right to travel issued by any court since the cold war began:

> "The denial of a passport accordingly causes a deprivation of liberty that a citizen otherwise would have. The right to travel, to go from place to place, as the means of transportation permit, is a natural right subject to the rights of others and to reasonable regulation under law. A restraint imposed by the Government of the United States upon this liberty therefore must conform with the provision of the Fifth Amendment that 'No person shall be . . . deprived of . . . liberty . . . without due process of law.'"

The State Dept. and the Dept. of Justice were reported by Columbia Broadcasting System to be thrown into confusion by the ruling, with the Justice Dept. plainly dissatisfied with the State Dept.'s handling of the matter.

MORE TO GO: The N.Y. **Post** commented editorially (6/24):

> "Once again it looks as though democracy is catching up with the little despots who use the serious business of national security as a justification for undermining freedom and justice alike."

Leonard Boudin, attorney for Prof. Nathan, applauded the decision as a long step forward but said it "still falls short of a basic decision on the absolute right to travel."

As it stands now, though the State Dept. can be forced to put its rulings up for review by the courts, the courts may in some cases find the withholding of passports justifiable.

On June 27 Federal District Judge Burnita S. Matthews said she would order the State Dept. to grant a quasi-judicial hearing to Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Council. Boudin said he would use the Nathan-Schachtman-Foreman precedents in moving for a summary judgment in the matter of a passport for Paul Robeson.

'Smacks of fascism'

The following letter appeared in the letters column of the Palo Alto (Calif.) "Times":

It is a deplorable sign of the times that nothing at all is being said by press and radio in this country over the attempt to deport Cedric Belfrage to his native England, the official reason—and the only one—being stated that he is "being engaged in advocating policies which we think involve national security."

The "we" may represent officialdom, but it does not stand for a very considerable body of opinion in this country—to say nothing of thought abroad; with which, I suppose, we are somewhat concerned.

Much was printed here about the suppression of "La Prensa" in Argentina—so far away. It is easier, no doubt . . . to denounce the snuffing out of "La Prensa," than it is to deplore or even mention the attempt to put an end to the existence of NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Nevertheless, the proceedings against Belfrage are contrary to all democratic principles, to which reaction so loudly protests fealty: it smacks most decidedly of fascism.

LOUISE HARDING HORR
Brisbane

"I have always strenuously supported the right of every man to his opinion, however different that opinion may be to mine. He who denies to another this right makes a slave of himself to his present opinion, because he precludes himself the right of changing it." —*Thomas Paine*

NEW FUROR IN LOUISVILLE

Did Braden prosecutor threaten 'another Wade case' to bar home to Negro family?

KENTUCKY's Commonwealth Atty. A. Scott Hamilton last week assured Louisville Negroes that his office had not threatened "another Wade case" if Negroes moved into a house which a white person was trying to sell them in a "restricted" neighborhood.

In the Wade case Andrew Wade IV, a Negro, moved into a house bought and transferred to him by Carl Braden, a white person. Dynamiters wrecked the house and Braden was tried for advocating "sedition," sentenced to 15 years and fined $5,000 (GUARDIAN, 4/18). Six others are awaiting trial. Braden is in jail, unable to raise $40,000 bail pending his appeal.

Braden's defense contended that not "sedition" but the desire to bar Negroes from "white" neighborhoods lay behind the Wade case. This was implied in a letter to Hamilton from Louisville attorney and NAACP leader Harry S. McAlpin, who wrote:

> "Reports intimating that any time a Negro buys property outside the Negro ghettos of Louisville he and all persons connected with the transaction will face prosecution for sedidition . . . should be nipped at the very outset."

WHO SAID WHAT: Hamilton called a meeting in his office as soon as he got McAlpin's letter. Present were the heads of the local and state NAACP and the real estate agent concerned. Hamilton said his office would prosecute anybody who intimidated a Negro for moving into a "white" neighborhood. He denied there was any truth in new Wade case reports. He said the instigator of the rumor "is liable to criminal prosecution."

Kentucky NAACP branches president James Crumlin said he thought the report came from a conversation between him and Asst. Commonwealth's Atty. Henry Sadlo. Crumlin said Sadlo told him that if the house offered to Negroes at 2101 Osage were bought by them "another Wade case might result." Crumlin repeated this at an NAACP meeting.

Sadlo did not deny the conversation but said that he had received anonymous phone calls warning his office of what would happen if Negroes bought the house. He passed the "threat" along to Crumlin, he said, to avoid a "potentially dangerous situation."

Outcome of the meeting in Hamilton's office was a public declaration that Hamilton would protect any Negro family moving into the area.

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"Hiroshima" back

The movie "Hiroshima" reopened in New York for a two-week run July 1 at the Victory Theatre, 42d St. & Broadway. Prints are available for commercial showings throughout the country (35 mm. only) through Continental Films, 40 W. 57th St., New York City.

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WAR & PEACE

Will West's 'asking price' bar agreement at Geneva?

By Tabitha Petran

WITH THE GENEVA TALKS approaching, the UN's San Francisco celebration turned into "a meeting just below the summit" (N. Y. **Times**, 6/26) at which the approach of each of the Big Four to the "summit" talks was tentatively outlined. "A wary West closed ranks against Russia's peace offensive" was the way **Newsweek** (6/27) summed up the U. S.-British-French effort at San Francisco.

Secy. Dulles' "cold and uncompromising" speech (N. Y. **Post**, 6/26) was offered as President Eisenhower's blueprint for Geneva. Noting that Dulles' Geneva "formula" called on the U. S. S. R. "to free its slave nations, quit promoting communism in other countries," the N. Y. **Daily News** (6/25) concluded approvingly that Geneva "will be no feast of hearts and flowers." From what Dulles said, the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** reported (6/25),

> ". . . one gained the distinct impression that in his judgment the Russians are on the run and should be kept on the run until they have made further concessions."

WASHINGTON LINE: This theme—that the U. S. S. R. "is in effect suing for peace in the cold war" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 6/20)— has now emerged as the dominant U. S. propaganda line about Geneva. The corollary is that the West can "put its asking price high." The "asking price," chosen in advance, seems to be (in Dulles' phrase) "the liberation of the satellites." This emphasis in Dulles' San Francisco speech "surprised" British officials because the Senate's overwhelming defeat of McCarthy's resolution to force a rigid U. S. stand on this issue showed that

> ". . . the Administration was not bound to assume a fixed position on Eastern Europe as it entered the conference" (**NYT**, 6/25).

British surprise may also be related to the fact that the British and French foreign secretaries thought they had persuaded Dulles to drop his demand to put the "satellites" on the agenda.

Washington's "the Russians are on the run" line echoed the views of W. German Chancellor Adenauer who told a Washington press conference June 14—and presumably the Western foreign ministers in New York—about alleged Soviet weakness and said:

> ". . . that if they [the Russians] want peace with the world, it is in their own interest . . . to release freely the Eastern Zone of Germany."

NEW WEHRMACHT FIRST: Restoration of capitalism in E. Europe has been a primary objective of U. S. policy since World War II. But even Dulles, does not believe that Geneva talks offer an opportunity to achieve this goal. In Washington's policy the initiative must wait upon W. German rearmament. This was underscored by Walter Lippmann who pointed out (6/21) that

> ". . . Adenauer does not want to negotiate the momentous issues of Germany's eastern frontiers until there is a German Army, until Germany has become, as she will, the leading European member of NATO."

By this provocation on the eve of Geneva, Dulles is taking a position of extreme rigidity. He hopes thus to become immune to the growing pressures throughout the Western world for settlement. The real aim of the West at Geneva seems to be not "liberation of the satellites" but to prevent any agreement which might lead to eventual ending of the "cold war." James Reston (**NYT**, 6/26) reported:

> "The Western powers are determined that they will not enter into any agreement at Geneva and that they will merely agree there to negotiate limited qualifications of present policies."

HOW STRONG IS WEAK? This determination extends so far that, according to the **NYT**'s London correspondent Middleton (6/26), they would not even welcome Soviet agreement to unify Germany unconditionally (without reference to neutrality) and in accordance with the Eden plan. The reason is, Middleton said, that "reunification of Germany would set in motion political pressures that the western powers might not be able to control."

U. S. insistence that the U. S. S. R. is acting out of weakness is based on illusions. W. European diplomats are warning (said Middleton) that the Russians will not arrive at Geneva

> ". . . in the role of applicants terrified by western rearmament or awed by the moral grandeur of western leaders' statements."

The U. S. S. R.'s position at four-power talks has been in the making since ratification of the Paris agreement to rearm Germany became certain. The chief steps taken have been:

- Winning Austria to neutrality and cementing peaceful relations with Yugoslavia.
- Slowing, for the time being at least, the Western effort to pull Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan into its Middle East military bloc. A strong Soviet statement April 16 warned against these western maneuvers on Russia's borders and offered to develop relations with Arab states in accordance with the five principles of coexistence. After this, Western pressure, primarily through Turkey, was somewhat relaxed.)
- The May 10 disarmament proposals.
- Strengthening of good relations with India.

MOLOTOV'S SPEECH: The motive behind this active Soviet diplomacy was explained by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov at San Francisco:

> "If propaganda for a new war . . . should continue unabated in some countries; if the armaments race should become intensified . . . if the forming of military groupings directed against other states should continue as heretofore, then international tensions would increase still more. To continue along that path means to drive headlong for the third world war."

Soviet diplomacy is designed, Molotov said, to help put the world on "reliable paths leading to lasting peace." To this end he proposed seven steps—outlined earlier in the May 10 disarmament statement. On disarmament, he declared that it is up to the West "to make the next move." U. S. sources hint that Washington—since it can't afford to reject the new Soviet concessions outright—will soon present a sweeping new disarmament plan. But there is no sign of any softening in Washington's refusal to bar nuclear war; and the Soviet disarmament proposals are being called "completely unacceptable" because they do not provide for "unlimited inspection" of atomic installations.

INDIA AND U. S. S. R.: The endorsement of the Soviet proposals by Indian Premier Nehru, at the end of a three-week visit to the U. S. S. R., is a major development. This, along with the joint Soviet-Indian call for strict observance of the Geneva agreement on Indo China elections, spells "potential trouble for the West" (**NYT**, 6/26). A significant turn in world relations was enhanced by the warmth shown to Nehru by Soviet leaders and citizens ("I am leaving part of my heart behind," he said on departure); the Soviet promise of technical and industrial assistance for India; the common stand on such key issues as China, Indo-China and disarmament. Only five years ago India voted for UN intervention in the Korean War.

As a result of these developments the U. S. S. R. comes to Geneva with political strength. So "appealing" are Soviet arguments "in view of the widespread popular yearning for peace," said the **NYT** (6/26) that

> ". . . the Western powers must guard against giving color to even a suspicion they are unwilling to negotiate."

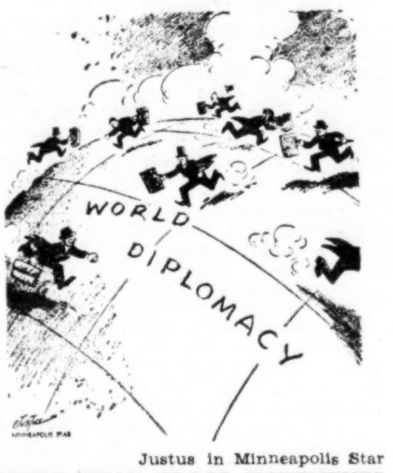
However great its military strength the West at Geneva will not have this same political strength; its present line seems calculated to weaken further its political position. In W. Europe, ratification of W. German rearmament—forced through parliaments by minority votes—has intensified the conflict between the governments and their peoples, who want peace. In general, pro-Washington parties have been weakened.

ITALY'S TROUBLES: This process is particularly clear in Italy. There the ruling Christian Democratic Party has been moving steadily to the right, stepping up its persecution of labor, cooperatives, the opposition press, and the peace movement. A strong faction in the CD party wants to jettison its small allies (Republicans, Liberals, right-wing Socialists) in favor of an all-CD cabinet ruling with monarchist and fascist support.

This group precipitated Italy's fifth cabinet crisis since 1953 by forcing Premier Scelba to resign. The small left wing of the CD favors "an opening to the left," a CD government supported by Pietro Nenni's left-wing Socialists and dedicated to domestic reform and a more neutral foreign policy. Prof. Antonio Segni, designated to form a new government, is not of this faction but is considered a moderate. These are some of the problems facing the industrial monopolists kept in power by the U. S.:

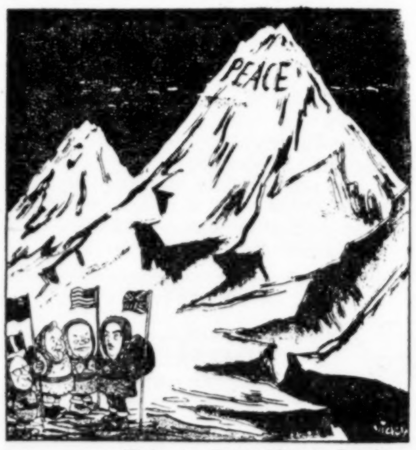
Falling living standards of the people; economic crisis heightened by the dumping of U. S. farm surpluses and the tightening grip of U. S. oil companies on the one hand; the growing militancy of the people, their mounting opposition to Italy's role in NATO on the other. A four-month strike of Genoa dock workers ended in victory in mid-May; a nationwide agricultural strike took place late in May.

It is in such sharpening struggles that the future of W. Europe will ultimately be determined—and the issue of war or peace.



Justus in Minneapolis Star

BETTER THAN TROOP MOVEMENTS



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

AT LAST: TO THE SUMMIT?

After the conquest of Mt. Everest and Kangchenjunga a four-power expedition is preparing the long-delayed attempt to climb the highest mountain of all.

"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them."

—Thomas Jefferson

Liberation, Paris

"So quiet and peaceful . . . Doesn't it make you nervous?"

Was that really you, John?

"THE EFFORT to attain great wealth is not, in itself, apt to be a fundamental cause of war. Those who are striving to this end have not yet the wealth and power which might permit them to exercise a decisive influence on governmental affairs. Greed for gain and unscrupulous measures may be a secondary cause of war; may furnish the particular incident which we all possess and respect. To covet the wealth of others we are fundamental factors; for by the time they attain real influence they will have passed from the group of those whose primary motive is to acquire and into the group of those whose primary motive is to retain.

"Here, I think, we find our real danger of war. It results from motives which we all possess and respect. To covet the wealth of others, we are prone to condemn; but to seek to retain our own is a homely virtue which we honor. Yet here, I think, we find the underlying economic cause of war; for we then have a group of individuals who have attained great wealth and power who influence, or are in a position to influence, governmental action, and who have become conservative and seek to resist any change which threatens the position which they have acquired."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES on "Economic Motives and How They Lead to War," from report of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, Washington, 1925, p. 91.

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY SESSION BECAME A VAST PEACE RALLY

The peoples of the UN serve notice on Big Four: 'We are watching'

By Anna Louise Strong

THE FESTIVAL OF FAITH ON THE EVE OF THE UN MEETING
They prayed for peace in many tongues in San Francisco's Cow palace

SAN FRANCISCO, June 26

"WHAT BEGAN as a UN birthday party turned into a world peace rally" was heard more than once as the delegates from 60 nations each spoke his 20-minute piece at the UN's Tenth Commemorative Session June 20-26. The words over-simplify but contain basic truth. Despite Assembly President van Kleffens' firm channeling of all remarks toward commemoration, away from present conflicts or future programs, the sessions far outgrew the birthday party originally planned.

2 BASIC FACTS: Results in history will be many. Two bulk largest just now: (1) the immediate result on the Big Four Summit Talks opening July 18 in Geneva; (2) the long range result on the UN's own prestige. The session firmly encircled the coming Big Four talks with prayers for peace from all nations. Therewith it reversed and ended for the time the tendency of various powers, especially Washington, to bypass the UN.

This double importance was not made by official planning. It was made by spontaneous acts from the grass roots, by a shrewd act of the Russians and by co-operative acts from Bandoeng. Let us note these in turn.

LOOK HOMEWARD: Take first the local pressures: the giant Peace Prayer by 16,000 people in seven religions in the vast Cow Palace the Sunday before sessions began; the circulated petitions that rapidly gathered signatures to abolish war; the peace float and the people wearing little doves. These did not directly touch the sessions but reminded the delegates that the same demands roll up in their own homelands for peace, for disarmament, and that these demands confronted the UN. This world pressure became clear when the final figures showed "over 1,000 correspondents accredited from the press," more than had ever attended a UN session before.

MOLOTOV'S PRESENCE: The Russian decision to send Molotov himself with over 80 assistants clearly enhanced the session's prestige and led to the belated decision of Dulles, Macmillan and Pinay to fly there too. It led finally to Dulles' own appearance at the sessions where he had not been listed to speak. Apparently he decided to replace Ambassador Lodge as representing the U.S. after he heard Molotov's speech. These facts, surrounded by the demands of almost 60 nations for disarmament and universal UN membership, irrevocably placed the coming Big Four talks within a framework of the UN.

THE PRESS: The American headlines as usual played up dissensions. They had "Molotov attacks U.S." when he gave a masterly analysis of the causes of world friction, without naming names: "war propaganda," the "unprecedented armaments race," the "stockpiling of atomic weapons," the "large scale construction of military bases on foreign territories . . . thousands of miles away from the countries constructing them." More experienced observers noted rather that Molotov repeatedly held out a welcoming hand.

DULLES' INSTRUCTIONS: Dulles was far more denunciatory. With what to me was unbearable sanctimoniousness, he instructed the world that "the worldwide conspiracy" of "international Communism" was a threat that "should end"; that East European nations are "in servitude"; that the "Chinese Communist regime" was an "aggressor"; that only one thing is needed for a peaceful world: that nations should obey the UN Charter and "refrain from the use of force and subversion." I wondered how many of the delegates were applying those words to the U.S. rather than the U.S.S.R.

Even Dulles, however, was forced by the surroundings to declare that "the spirit generated by this gathering of 60 nations" should be carried into the Geneva conference. He ended with the now famous quotation from Eisenhower's opening speech at the session: "We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for peace." This seems to make it unanimous!

BANDOENG INFLUENCE: A final factor raising the prestige of the UN was the Bandoeng conference, an influence non-dramatic yet pervasive. No delegate spoke for any Bandoeng program, or supported any "Bandoeng bloc." But every nation that had been in Bandoeng spoke up for one or more of the principles adopted there. The admission of China to the UN thus gained a growing backing. Even more stressed were disarmament, abolition of atom bombs, universal UN membership.

Bandoeng's importance was gently dramatized by India's Krishna Menon, who gave the session's concluding speech. Throughout his talk ran the faith that war can and must be avoided, that disarmament may well be attained in the next ten years. Then, almost incidentally, he revealed that the Bandoeng Conference represented 1.5 billion people, "almost two-thirds of the human race," while the UN, through its own acts in excluding China and "25 or 30 nations that applied," can speak for "less than one-half of mankind." The non-Bandoeng delegates were probably surprised to learn that Bandoeng speaks for more than the UN.

A NEW CALL: The Bandoeng Conference, however, did not seek to compete with the UN or supersede it. It merely stood behind the scenes, waiting, acknowledging the UN as the organ of reference and seeking universal membership therein. This support, from nations both included in the UN and excluded, did more than any other fact to raise aloft a new prestige for the UN, and a new call for it to take a universal function as the organ of world peace.

WHAT WAS READ INTO THE ACT?

Seven Smith Act victims get 2½-5 years in Denver as judge sees need for review

DENVER, COLO.

THE seven Denver Smith Act defendants were sentenced last week to prison terms ranging from 2½-5 years and fines from $1,500-$5,000. Denying defense motions for dismissal of the jury's verdict and for a retrial Federal Judge Jean S. Breitenstein handed down these sentences:

Arthur Bary, five years, $5,000 fine; Anna Correa Bary, Patricia Blau and Lewis Johnson, four years, $3,000; Harold Zeppelin and Joseph Scherer, three years, $2,000 (the judge said he took their war records into consideration); and Maia Scherer, 2½ years, $1,500.

Judge Breitenstein said he found "substantial" constitutional questions in the case which merit review by higher courts and allowed the defendants to continue on bail, though he increased the bond for Patricia Blau, Lewis Johnson and Joseph Scherer. Bail was posted for all but Johnson who is held in the Denver County Jail while the Colorado Committee To Protect Civil Liberties is seeking to raise funds for his release.

SMITH vs. FIRST: Before the sentencing defense atty. William V. Hodges, Republican leader and dean of the Denver bar appealed to the judge to set aside the verdict. In a two-hour speech he said it was his "firm belief that the Smith Act flies directly in the face of the First Amendment."

Convictions under the Smith act have been upheld, Hodges said, because "the courts have read into the Smith act what isn't there." His argument was as follows:

The abridgement of freedom of speech is prohibited by the First Amendment. Only where there is a danger that speech will lead to crime can it be prohibited under the "clear and present danger" doctrine. As Hodges put it, "there is no present danger unless from the speech of these people a crime of action may be committed."

QUESTION OF DANGER: In another motion defense attorneys called on the court to dismiss the verdict because of the absence of a "clear and present danger." A 44-page brief documented the relaxation of international tensions. The change in atmosphere since the Dennis case, the defense argued, has destroyed the Supreme Court's "clear and present danger" finding.

A request for a hearing on this question, at which the ACLU's Roger Baldwin and Prof. Fowler V. Harper of Yale Law School had offered to appear, was denied by the court.

A motion for a mistrial, based upon the prosecution's inflamatory closing speech to the jury, in which the defendants were called "traitors," was argued by John Shafroth.

Gold's Testimony

(Continued from Page 1)

other of his "phantasies"—all of which Gold cheerfully admitted at the Dayton trial.

Gold's earlier testimony resulted in imprisonment of Brothman and his assistant, Miriam Moscowitz; led to the Rosenberg-Sobell convictions; and indirectly brought about the jailing of Alfred Dean Slack and William Perl.

Gold's basic story was that he was a Soviet courier collecting information from 1936 until his arrest in 1950. Actually he collected industrial articles about well-known, non-military processes for Amtorg, Soviet trade organization. His story on Smilg was similar to that with which the FBI confronted Slack, a Syracuse chemist who had written industrial articles for Amtorg based on library material. Gold's "revelation" of himself as a "spy" was in line with his concoctions of a mythical family, a sweetheart with one blue eye and one brown, a Communist mentor with a talking crow and a snake to coil around his neck. But it was used to jail Slack for 15 years.

HARRY GOLD
Fantasy, Inc.

END OF CAREER? In the Rosenberg-Sobell Case, both John Wexley and William A. Reuben in his **The Atom Spy Hoax** have refuted Gold's key story—that he visited the German-born British scientist Klaus Fuchs in New Mexico in 1945 and received atomic information from Sgt. David Greenglass for which he claimed he paid $500. He said he identified himself by a torn half of a Jell-O box label.

Greenglass in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial backed up Gold's story and testified that he had received his half of the Jell-O box label from Julius Rosenberg. Discrepancies in the stories of this alleged encounter, as well as other details found by Wexley and Reuben to have been faked, lead to the conclusion that Gold's entire story enmeshing the Rosenbergs was faked from start to finish.

With the Dayton jury's rejection of his stories about Smilg, however, Gold's usefulness as an FBI "atom-spy" witness is probably at an end.

Congress story

(Continued from Page 1)

coalition works was shown when Senate Democrats were substituting Eisenhower's plan for highway development for one of their own. Dixiecrats objected to a provision that would have made the prevailing wage standards apply in all new construction; the "liberals" obligingly eliminated it. On the minimum wage bill it was the "liberal" Sen. Paul Douglas who led in the move to "compromise" on $1 an hour as between Eisenhower's recommended 90c and all labor's demand for $1.25. Last May a political writer for the Washington **Post** commented:

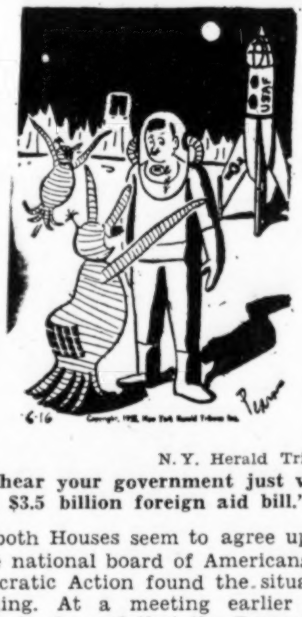
> "Democratic liberals are growing a bit restive under the strange and wonderful robe of party harmony that has cloaked nearly every act of this Democratic Congress. . . . What they fear from all this harmonizing is that it is shifting the Democratic Party very gradually from the liberal to the conservative side of the street."

By last week there seemed less restiveness, fewer fears; the street was all but crossed. The N.Y. **Times** (5/29) noted:

> ". . . the general amnesty which the Democrats have extended to President Eisenhower personally from the very beginning of his term continues to be observed with only slight interruption."

ADA ALARMED: There have been many explanations of this strange state of affairs but the N.Y. **Times** (6/22) came up with the simplest to the effect that, basically, Democrats and Republicans think alike:

> "Perhaps the most significant development of the present session is not expressed in specific legislative terms at all. It onsists of a general coalescence of policy on foreign and, to a lesser extent, on domestic matters. . . . There certainly has been produced a middle-of-the-road philosophy that the Republican President and the Democratic leadership in both Houses seem to agree upon."



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"We hear your government just voted a $3.5 billion foreign aid bill."

The national board of Americans for Democratic Action found the situation alarming. At a meeting earlier this month it charged that the Democratic Party "has now delivered a veto power into the hands of the most conservative elements" and said that Democratic Congressional leadership "has signally failed to take advantage of its control of Congress to move forward in such vital areas of national concern as civil rights, health and labor relations."

The official **AFL** publication, **News-Reporter** (6/3) warned:

> "Party harmony is slowly smothering any chance of the Democrats making a constructive record in the 84th Congress. For the sake of maintaining a show of unity, the Democrats are pulling their punches and soft-pedaling most of their progressive programs. . . . It's about time that the Democrats woke up to the fact that the only way for them to regain power in the nation is to do something—not to emulate Republican do-nothingism."

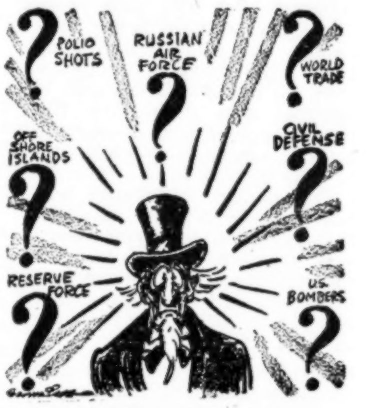
BURNED OUT? But at least one Republican was suspicious. Sen. Norris Cotton (N.H.) reported to his constituents that in the Senate "everybody seems filled with sweet reasonableness. The voice of the filibuster is heard no more in the land. Debate is limited without a whisper of dissent. The firebrands . . . seem to have burned to embers, for the Morses and the Humphreys, who were often objecting, are strangely docile." But he didn't believe it:

> "They are keeping a few little bombshells like farm price supports and Taft-Hartley revision carefully up their sleeves so they can explode them next year just before election. Don't be fooled by all this talk about the Democrats supporting the President's program. There is something phony about both the mild weather and the Congressional calm. They are too good to last."

But to another observer, author and historian Gerald W. Johnson, it could conceivably last indefinitely because under the present set-up Democratic Congressional leaders "never had it so good":

> "To expect them to upset this blissful arrangement by pressing indelicate questions about Dixon-Yates, or the numbers game, or the power grabs in the West, or the looting of the forest and mineral reserves, is to demand too much of human nature."

Unfortunately, there was nothing in sight at the moment that could break up the Washington idyll of liberal Democrats scratching Dixiecrat backs and both scratching Republican backs.



Louisville Courier-Journal

GOVERNMENT BY CONFUSION

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If each signature is to be a solemn contract pledging the writer to win his neighbor to sign too and make their common will prevail, it will be necesary to explain, to persuade, to convince on a gigantic scale. And if the number of signatures is to compel the retreat of those who do not hesitate to prepare for a war waged with hydrogen bombs, every man and woman must be given the possibility of playing a direct and conscious part in this decisive struggle.

—**World Council of Peace Bulletin**

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"NEGROES IMPATIENT"

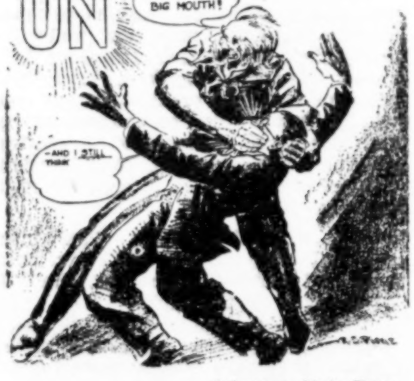
NAACP convention rejects 'gradualism' in fight for rights

DELEGATES to the 46th annual convention of the Natl. Association for Advancement of Colored People in Atlantic Ctiy June 21-26 denounced "all efforts to force withdrawal of or to circumvent" the anti-jimcrow amendment to the Armed Services Reserve Training bill introduced by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N. Y.). A unanimously adopted resolution named President Eisenhower and Rep. Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) as among those trying to sidetrack the amendment; urged Powell to "stand firm."

Another resolution endorsed inclusion of anti-jimcrow clauses in "all bills affecting the rights of minority groups," specifically, publicly aided housing and federal grants of aid to states, cities and corporations for educational institutions.

ROCK THE BOAT: President Eisenhower wired the convention to "display both wisdom and patience as it continues to bear its share of responsibility for the betterment of our country as a whole." But NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall rejected advice "urging us to be patient, not to rock the boat, not to push ahead too rapidly." He said that when it comes to discrimination

> ". . . Negroes are impatient. They are insistent. They are determined to get their rights as rapidly as possible. In this way they are no different from any other Americans as far back as the framers of our Declaration of Independence. [Only the Negro is asked] over and over again to forget that he is a citizen; to forget that he has rights as a citizen and to delay in asking enforcement of his constitutionally protected rights."



Arkansas State Press

"It has made him concerned with world opinion."

The convention adopted resolutions:

- Saluting the United Nations "on its 10th anniversary for a decade of progress in welding the nations . . . into one form designed to eradicate the evils of war";
- Calling for registration of 3,000,000 Negro voters in the South to hasten the school desegregation program;
- Commending the anti-colonial Asian-African conference program;
- Urging adoption of a constitutional amendment for direct election of U.S. President and Vice President by popular vote;
- Endorsing democratic trade unionism, the principle of collective bargaining, $1.25 hourly minimum wage, and "more apprenticeships and other training opportunities for young Negro workers without segregation or discrimination."

READY IN THE FALL: The convention urged all Southern NAACP branches "to work throughout the summer and in the early fall to see that as many school boards as possible are petitioned to desegregate their schools beginning this September." Delegates pledged "to continue to work with every school board that is willing to comply with the law of the land."

Northern branches were directed to "pursue with equal vigor" the end of jimcrow and sub-standard education for Negroes in their own communities.

Baltimore **Afro-American** publisher Carl Murphy was awarded the 40th Spingarn Medal for 37 years of service as "an uncompromising advocate of freedom and equality." Earlier recipients have included biologist Dr. Ernest E. Just, Federal Judge William H. Hastie, singers Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson, and UN Under-Secy.-Genl. Ralph Bunche.

The 788 delegates from 240 local NAACP units in 38 states and the District of Columbia voted to set up a Walter White Memorial Fund of $1 contribution from each of the 250,000 members. Mr. White, late executive secretary, died March 21.

"No matter whose the lips that would speak, they must be free and ungagged. The community which does not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of thieves."

—*Wendell Phillips*

2,000 DELEGATES FROM 90 COUNTRIES

Helsinki: World Peace Assembly

Special to the Guardian

HELSINKI

IN THE "GREAT HALL" built by this city for the 1952 Olympics, 2,000 delegates and observers from 90 countries came together on June 22 in a week-long World Peace Assembly. In welcoming the group Vaino Meltti, governor of Uusima Province (which includes Helsinki) said the delegates represented "more nations and wider sections of the population" than any previous conference.

(The Finnish government was officially represented at the Assembly by Mme. Tyyne Leivo-Larsson, asst. minister of social affairs. Finland's Premier Urho Kekkonen reportedly granted an official reception to two delegates of cabinet rank, East Germany's Premier Otto Nuschke and China's Vice Premier Kuo Mo-jo.)

PUBLIC BE HEARD: Opening the meeting, French atomic scientist Frederic Joliot Curie, president of the World Peace Council, urged a ban on the manufacture of atomic weapons and disarmament as the first step toward peace. Citing the coming four-power talks, Curie said:

> "Public opinion, a very great force, is making itself felt more every day. . . . Public opinion has too long been looked on as a factor of importance, but a passive one; opinion was 'softened' to accept decisions taken without consulting it. Today public opinion has become an active force which makes its presence felt even as these decisions are being worked out. This is recognized by all governments.
>
> "In my opinion, negotiations should start from a situation which should not be made more tense by any preliminary maneuvers, pressure or threats, and should, by mutual concessions, seek solutions which are acceptable to all parties concerned. . . . If public opinion is well-informed, if it distinguishes correctly between the search for mutual concessions in the interest of all parties and capitulation imposed by threats, and if it makes itself heard it will have created the conditions for success."

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE IN HIS LABORATORY

If the people are heard, there will be success

RUSSELL ON H-BOMB: Bertrand Russell sent a speech to be read in his absence. In it the British philosopher said:

> "I do not think . . . that there is the slightest chance of H-bombs not being used in a world war. It follows that we must prevent large-scale wars or perish. To make the governments of the world admit this is a necessary step on the road to peace. . . . The abolition of the H-bomb, which is a thing that we must all desire, can only come profitably after both sides have come together in a sincere attempt to put an end to the hostile relations between the two blocs. . . . In a war using the H-bomb there can be no victory. . . . We can live together or die together. I am firmly persuaded that if those of us who realize this devote ourselves with sufficient energy to the task, we can make the world realize it. Communist and anti-Communist alike prefer life to death, and if the issue is clearly presented to them, they will choose the measures which are necessary for preserving life."

Lord Russell urged a statement by "a small group of men of the highest scientific eminence" on the effects to be expected by nuclear war. This, he said might be presented to the world by the Indian government.

CHINA IS WILLING: Urging adherence to the five Bandoeng principles as a basis for talks, Kuo Mo-jo said:

> "As there is no war between U.S. and China over Formosa, no question of a cease fire can arise, but the government of China is willing to enter negotiations."

D. N. Pritt, British lawyer and chairman of the Intl. Comm. of Democratic Lawyers, said:

> "Efforts [by international lawyers] in the past to make war more humane by outlawing certain weapons have now moved to the work of outlawing wars. As the atom weapon is not a legitimate weapon in the eyes of international law, policy decisions to equip forces with nuclear weapons may result in a crime against peace under the Nurnberg Charter."

THE DIRTY WORD: At the two-day plenary session Rev. D. C. Candy, observer from the Church Peace Mission of Toronto, characterized his organization as "neither pacifist nor leftist," then took up the charges of "communist domination" of the World Peace Council:

> "In my own country peace has become a dirty word. Although it is inherent in the Christian faith it is most difficult to use it in any creative way without becoming suspect. Unless you throw in a few atom bombs and a stout defense system into the same sentence you are a dangerous and idealistic radical. . . . People everywhere really want peace . . . we must eliminate the fear and suspicion which is the trouble . . . and build mutual understanding that is the basis of lasting peace."

Observers included several clergymen from various faiths in U.S. and Canada, representatives from Fellowship of Reconciliation groups in Europe and the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom.

The assembly received messages of encouragement from Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico and former Premier Edouard Herriot of France, who was voted honorary chairman. Mme. Rameshwari Nehru, adviser to the government of India, in her message urged:

> ". . . a clear and united demand for a ban on atomic weapons and the removal of troops stationed in foreign countries. The underdevelopment of the country is not to be considered as an excuse for a foreign country to occupy it. Military blocs may be created to preserve peace but they lead to war."

23 YEARS OF SERVICE

Foreign Born group before the SACB

Special to the GUARDIAN

HEARINGS began June 21 before the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington against the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as a Communist-controlled organization under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. The constitutionality of the law is now before the Supreme Court in a proceeding initiated by the late Vito Marcantonio for the Communist Party. The ACPFB has been in existence 23 years and its work has been acknowledged by many prominent Americans, including Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower, Fiorello La Guardia, Thomas E. Dewey, Albert Einstein, Cordell Hull, Frank Murphy and Francis Biddle when he was attorney-general.

ILLEGAL AND INHUMAN: Abner Green, ACPFB executive secretary, charged that Atty. Gen. Brownell "seeks to eliminate the American Committee because it has fought consistently to repeal the Walter-McCarran Law; and . . . because we have time and again succeeded in exposing the illegal and inhuman practices of the Justice Department in its treatment of foreign-born Americans."

Of three government witnesses heard last week, all familiar informers, one has been getting $100-$125 a month from the FBI since Dec. 1954, when he appeared as a witness against the Civil Rights Congress. Hearings will continue through July 8 and then recess until after Labor Day.

Biter bitten

FRED A. JONES, a Florida State investigator in last year's attack on Miami progressives, was fined $100 in Daytona for intimidating a witness in an automobile-insurance civil suit. Also fined were two attorneys and a former FBI agent who, with Jones, took a witness to the State Attorney's office and threatened him with jail for perjury unless he testified as they directed.

WHAT RESERVE BILL DOES

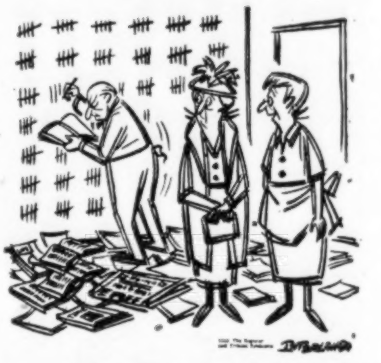
Anti-jimcrow amendment delays action on UMT

A HOUSE Armed Services subcommittee June 22 rewrote a compromise amendment which committee chairman Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) had put into President Eisenhower's National Military Reserve Plan and restored most of the original measure. Vinson's compromise had attempted to get around an amendment by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) forbidding assignment of reservists to jimcrow National Guard units, and had also dropped the universal military training aspects.

The rewritten measure would create a military reserve of 2,900,000 as originally proposed by the Administration last December (GUARDIAN, 12/27/54). Popular protest has thus far held it up.

WHAT IT DOES: The bill now provides that:

- Every man drafted since July, 1953, must serve two years on active duty and three in a so-called ready reserve.
- "Ready reservists" must attend 48 drill periods and a 17-day period of training yearly, with a choice of correspondence courses instead of drills.
- A 45-day recall to active duty—or court martial—would await any man who failed to keep up reserve training.
- The President now is empowered to call into action only the number of men Congress specifies; under the current plan he could summon 1,000,000 "ready reservists" without Congressional approval.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"There's been so many conflicting reports on whether Russia has a bigger air force than we do, he's decided to keep track for the government."

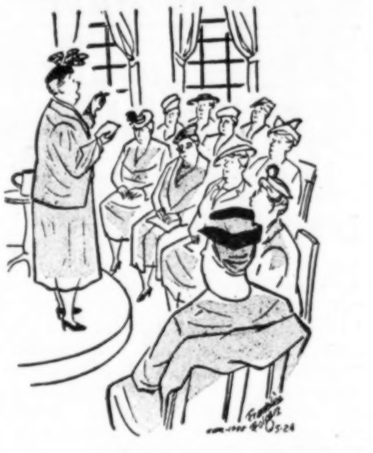
THE BACK DOOR: The Armed Services Committee late in April, sensing trouble with the UMT bill, approved a substitute which omitted the compulsory 6-month training program. Though Defense Secy. Wilson had insisted on it, he now conceded that this feature was not essential. Opponents of any type of UMT saw his concession as just a trick by which to slip the whole program over, for the substitute provided that after a youth had trained six months, he must drill 48 times a year, in addition to giving two weeks' active service.

Failure to do either would bring punishment of an enforced 2-year army enlistment. Or, as House Armed Serviices Committee member Dewey Short (R-Mo.) declared—having once said he had an "open mind" on it—youngsters would be tempted to volunteer for six months in order to escape a 2-year draft; but, once in, they would be "hooked . . . for eight long years."

BY ANY OTHER NAME: Pennsylvania's Council of United Christian Youth "vigorously" opposed the substitute as UMT in another "form or guise." CIO Rubber Workers Union president L. C. Buckmaster urged all House members to vote against the bill, because

> ". . . even with this revision, there is still provision for the simultaneous operation of the Selective Service system and a voluntary 6-month trainee system [which would] not only sacrifice the selectiveness of selective service and the soundness of our armed forces, but . . . permit the advocates of universal military training to initiate first on a voluntary basis for a limited number of people a program that could eventually become a universal military training program."

THE BASIC ISSUE: As Rep. Short now phrased it, the bill was a move to "get a foot in the door" for UMT; was part of "a persistent, pugnacious, relentless, costly campaign to cram down the throats of the American people universal military training or peacetime conscription."



Drawing by Franklin Folsan

"Now, remember, in case of a sneak attack on the United States you're all to phone Mrs. McCreery."

The current version of the measure seemingly gets around the jimcrow issue by deleting any reference to assignment of reservists to segregated National Guard units. The fight once more is on the basic issue of traditional American abhorrence of universal conscription in peacetime.

"Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease, and bring new elements of health. Where free speech is stopped, miasma is bred, and death comes fast."

—Henry War Beecher

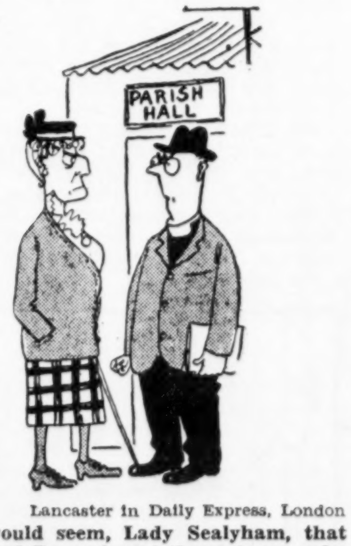
PERON STILL CLINGS TO HIS RULE

Revolt makes Army boss of Argentina

JUAN DOMINGO PERON still held his office in the bomb-shattered Presidential palace (the Pink House) of Buenos Aires but few doubted that the coup that wracked Argentina had wrought far-reaching changes.

Officially, Gen. Franklin Lucero, commander of the "Forces of Repression," had returned command of the armed services to President Peron. Most of the troops had withdrawn to their barracks and their places were taken by the heavily-armed National Police. The government insisted that the fleet was safe at its bases.

PEACE WITH THE POPE? But Argentina still lay gripped in a state of siege and in vast uncertainty. Uruguayan sources reported at least nine Argentine warships still at sea pending negotiations with the Army. The cabinet had resigned, ostensibly to give Peron a free hand in reorganizing the government. The amnesty for political prisoners was taking a queer turn. Daily scores of Catholic church officials, jailed during the last six months, were being released. Radical Party members were being freed under pressure. (Five provincial senators and one deputy had to stage a sit-down in the Senate Building of the City of Eva Peron before 24 of their fellow legislators were let go.) The trade unionists and students arrested during the 1954 strikes were still in jail.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"It would seem, Lady Sealyham, that General Peron is not the only one who has still to learn that it seldom pays to fall foul of the Church!"

The policy toward the Church had gone completely into reverse. Though plans for a constitutional convention to write in the separation of church and state were still technically in the works there was little mention of it in the press and instead there were rumors of a new concordat with the Holy See. The cabinet resignations, according to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**'s Marguerite Higgins

> ". . . were widely interpreted as intended to offer the opportunity for a reshuffling of the administration in a manner that would placate the army and the Roman Catholic Church."

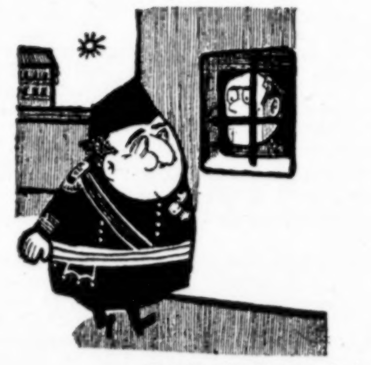
Foreign Minister Jeronimo Remorino was reported in negotiations to reconcile the Peron regime with the Vatican and probably to lift the excommunication decree.

THE BIG SHIFT: These were surface shifts. What seemed more basic was the exclusion from the power plays of the trade unionists. Hugo De Pietro, ast. secy. of the General Conf. of Labor, told newsmen that only the personal intervention of Peron (he had gone down to Confederation headquarters) had kept the workers off the streets. De Pietro said the workers could still be rallied on an hour's notice if Peron gave the word.

The question was why was the word not given. The N.Y. **Times'** Edward A. Morrow, who shortly after the coup had reported Peron's replacement by a military junta, said (6/23):

> "Now it is believed General Peron may be just as solidly entrenched as ever, though depending more on the army and less on the unions."

If that is so the coup went far deeper than shifts in church policy or a juggling of the cabinet. A Peron dependent on the Army is not the same as the Peron dependent on the workers of Argentina. Peron, who in recent years has had to make concessions to trade unions' demands, may now make his concessions in another direction. As a result Argentine workers may seek solutions outside Peronism. In any case the old Peron riding on the strength of the organized workers of Argentina, playing a cagey game, semi-independent of pressure from foreign interests, seems to be through.



Drawing by Escaro, Paris

IN FRANCO SPAIN

"Everyone knows how much I want to keep freedom secure."

WALL STREET'S BOY: Washington circles looked kindlier on Peron than they had a few weeks earlier. The **Wall St. Journal** (6/27) said:

> "Whatever else U.S. officials may think about the Argentine strong man, they rate him a powerful advocate of bigger U.S. investments in Argentina and of more U.S.-Argentine trade. Scanning the political scene in the turbulent South American republic, they've spotted no challengers in the power struggle who would be likely to match Mr. Peron on this score."

A State Dept. aide told the **WSJ**:

> "On the biggest issue in the world today, the Communist issue, Peron has been on our side, and we have to take that into consideration."

JUSTICE DEPT. IS "HOSTILE"

Ingram delegation gets runa round

TWELVE NEGRO and 11 white members of the Provisional Committee to Free the Ingrams were given the Washington runaround June 24 when they visited the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department and the office of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram's Senator, Walter George of Georgia. Mrs. Ingram and her sons Wallace, 16, and Sammie, 14, will be legally eligible for parole from Georgia State Prison in August, but the Committee says they will be released only if the authorities hear from the people.

The 40-year-old Negro mother and her boys were originally sentenced to die for the killing on Nov. 4, 1947, of a white man who had attempted to rape Mrs. Ingram.

The delegation was led by Mrs. Amy Hunt of Philadelphia, Mrs. Ingram's mother. She was accompanied by the Rev. William Philpotts who was elected by 300 members of Philadelphia's Ministerial Baptist Conference. Mrs. Maude White Katz, 750 Riverside Dr., N.Y.C., is executive secretary of the Committee.

RED FACES: Justice Dept. civil rights chief Arthur Caldwell, Mrs. Katz told the GUARDIAN, "was hostile." Sen. George's office staff had never heard of the Ingram case and doubted that he had. Faces reddened when the visitors remarked that delegates to the Asian-African Conference in Indonesia not only had heard about the case but had asked about it. A White House attendant told Mrs. Hunt that the President had no constitutional or legal authority to intervene.

The Committee is continuing efforts to mobilize public support of demands that the Ingrams be paroled when they become eligible.

The Belfrage case

(Continued from Page 1)

career as lawyer, educator and writer and served the government in several capacities during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Since 1929 he was professor of economics at Rollins College, Fla., but some years ago came out of what he called semi-retirement to take an active part in the defense of civil liberties.

Shaughnessy readily conceded that Belfrage has no criminal record and is under no charges, but he insisted that under the Walter-McCarran Act it is within his discretion to hold detainees in prison. Actually the law empowers immigration authorities to detain person under deportation orders in "appropriate places" (as the N.Y. **Times** pointed out), but not in jails.

A "HIGH IQ": Shaughnessy said he deemed a federal prison appropriate for Belfrage because he is an "agitator" and therefore, by implication, dangerous. He argued that Belfrage is a man of exceptional intelligence with a "high IQ" and suggested that he would be a bad influence upon the "guileless" and "half-literate" deportees held under minimum restrictions in the Immigration Service's own Detention Center.

During the interview two men, unidentified, took full notes of everything said.

Meanwhile Belfrage is treated as though he were convicted of a crime and has no more than a convict's privileges. His visitors are still rigidly restricted to his wife, his lawyers and his co-editor James Aronson. He can receive only those periodicals and publications that appear on a federal prison "approved list," which doesn't include the GUARDIAN. His mail, incoming and outgoing, is as limited as his visitors.

LETTER TO EDITOR: Although both the **Times** and the **Post-Dispatch** have criticized the treatment of Belfrage, neither commented on the case as an attack on the freedom of the press. No other paper of stature has yet raised its editorial voice, but around the country last week letters from GUARDIAN supporters were beginning to appear in the "voice of the people" columns.

The District Court of Appeals, which is not only reviewing the deportation order but is considering Belfrage's request for bail pending a final decision, is now in summer recess. But the judges who heard Belfrage's lawyers indicated that, in their minds, this was not a case to lapse until the Fall term. A ruling on the bail issue, for or against, is still expected.

WRITE TODAY

Action gets results, as the editorials on the Belfrage Case in the N.Y. Times **and** St. Louis Post-Dispatch **testify. And newspapers DO print letters to the editor. So send the facts on the Belfrage Case to your local paper and ask them to comment editorially.**

And write to Attorney General Brownell, Justice Dept., Washington, D.C., protesting the denial of bail to Belfrage.

•

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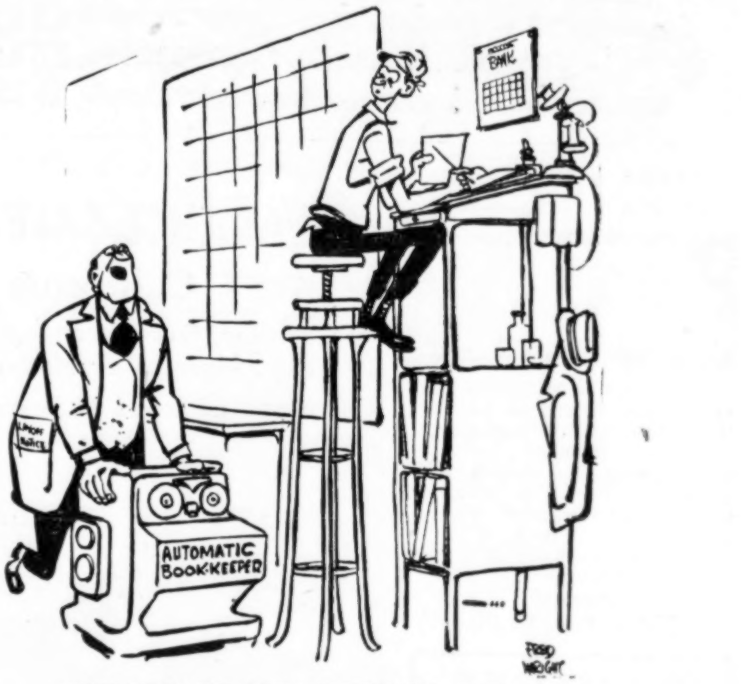

"QUIMBLY, WE ARE GROUNDING YOU . . ."

U. S. vs. UMT

"We are utter fools if we think we will ever get a real farm program or adequate steps to halt unemployment as long as military spending takes most of our tax money and as long as military men determine government policies. War might be good for the millionaires and for General Motors; but it has never benefited the common people who pay the taxes and give their sons. Now with hydrogen bombs, another war would be mass suicide. It is time we demand new attempts at world disarmament within the United Nations. And first of all, we must defeat the sugar-coated UMT bill now in this session of Congress."

—Farmer-Labor Fedn., 9th Congressional Dist., Minnesota.

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LODGE THEATER

Crystal Lake play repertory

CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE in the Adirondacks has announced an innovation in resort entertainment. It will present a season of repertory theater under the directorship of Howard DaSilva. A company of 15 actors will offer six plays in a rotating repertory which will allow a two-week guest to see four productions during his stay.

The plays are: **The Prodigious Snob** by Moliere, **The Silver Tassie** by O'Casey, **The Cherry Orchard** by Chekhov, **The Caucasian Chalk Circle** by Berthold Brecht, **The World of Sholem Aleichem** dramatized by Arnold Perl, and a double bill consisting of Christopher Fry's **A Phoenix Too Frequent**, and Gogol's **The Gamblers.**

The company includes Morris Carnovsky, Phoebe Brand, Mervin Williams, Lola D'Annunzio, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Marjorie Nelson, Bernard Kates, Martin Waldron, Dorian Schafer, Bill Schipp, Ed Roney and Alan Arkin.

DaSilva will direct all the plays except the Gogol play, which will be directed by Eric Bentley from his own adaptation. The sets and costumes have been designed by Paul Sylbert. Original music has been composed by Robert De Cormier, and the choreography was created by Bonnie Bird.

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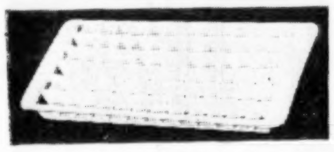

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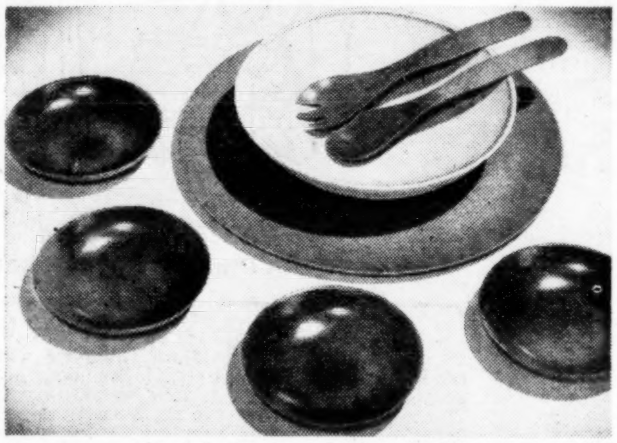

Here is a wonderful gift for a host or hostess. A new kind of woodenware . . . colorful, durable and smartly styled. Best of all, the process of combining wood fibre and resin eliminates many of the shortcomings of wood pieces. This set is break-resistant (it takes a really powerful smash to hurt it). It is unaffected by food acids or alcohol so you can use any kind of salad dressing without fear. The colors cannot wear off or chip away because they are an integral part of the material itself. As a gift this set will be well used and appreciated.

Comes in Avocado Green, Curry Yellow or Rust (specify 2nd color choice). Set consists of: 11" Salad Bowl; 15" Round Chop Plate; 4 6¼" small bowls; a Serving Fork and Spoon.

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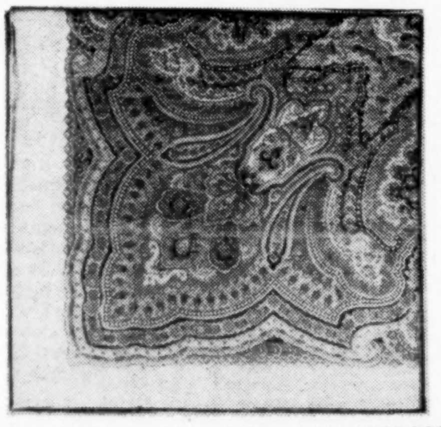

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the SPECTATOR

Press headquarters: UN

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO, JUNE 24

ALL THROUGH the week the United Nations Tenth Anniversary Session remains the focus of city and world attention. All through the week the weather is cool but sunny and winds blow in from the sea. Every dawn finds men and women waiting in line for hours for tickets. Every hour hears the typewriters pound in the basement Press Room, flashing the news in minutes around the world.

The action centers in the Civic Center, the Opera House and the War Memorial Bldg. It radiates out to the city's Press Club and Commonwealth Club and the many hotels in which are held the banquets, and farther out to the private mansion in Hillsborough, where the Russians rented headquarters and where new groups of delegates go daily to dine.

THE PRESS ROOM: Nine hundred newsmen are registered at the UN press headquarters, representing all major press services of man. Many of them have flown in from New York, where they are attached to UN headquarters. But Genevieve Tabouis flew from Paris; Tass has three correspondents; Tanjug of Yugoslavia two.

A vast basement room of the War Memorial Bldg. is reserved for us, with scores of tables and typewriter stands where 100 or more can hammer out news at once. Major services like the **AP, UP, Agence France, N.Y. Times,** have reserved locations along the far wall, railed in, with several men on duty in each. The rest of us grab whatever table is vacant or dash to our hotel rooms to write. But always we come back to the Press Room at least twice daily, for the wire services, the special post-office, the long-distance phones.

We come especially for the press releases, dumped hour by hour on a 30-foot table. For, as the 60 nations hour after hour speak their pieces in the Opera House, so here in the Press Room their words are "'released."

THE BIG DAY: Wednesday, with the Molotov speech, was the big day. At 6:30 a.m. a Russian aide dashed in with the official copy, turned it over to a UN press attaché for translation, mimeographing and distribution. At 8:30 in came Soviet Ambassador Zarubin. He disappeared into the mimeograph room for two hours and personally edited every word. At 10:37 the copies were tossed on the long table and 100 newsmen grabbed them.

I wasn't one of them; I was in the Opera House hearing Molotov. I heard the clear and measured words with which he summed up the birth of the UN, its history, and the present problems. ("Very clever," said a delegate from Lebanon. "Conciliatory," said Belgium's Foreign Minister Spaak. "The same old stuff," said French Foreign Minister Pinay. Dulles said nothing but kept making notes.)

I heard the applause that broke out five times—unusual since most speeches were applauded only at the end. It began in the galleries from the people who had waited for tickets since dawn; it spread to many delegates; but none of the four U.S. delegates clapped. The applause came especially when Molotov said it depended largely on the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to consolidate peace of the world . . . when he voiced confidence that the American people want peace just as the Soviet people do, when he said:

> "Here in San Francisco . . . among the American people . . . I would like to stress the good feeling of the Soviet people for the people of the U.S."

It came also when he spoke for China, and for the banning of nuclear weapons, and when he said: "It is up to the U.S. to make the next move."

THE DELEGATE FROM UCLA: In the Opera lobby I met a peppy college girl from Los Angeles who got a better view than I did. She came with a YMCA-YWCA seminar that began with 75 students and grew to 150 and then closed its ranks. They came to San Francisco by cars and hitch-hiking. They got one legal admission apiece, then they stood in line to get other admissions. Then they found they could see it better on television next to the Press Room. The TV swung around to show how the Asian delegates applauded Molotov's remarks on China, and how the Chiang delegates scowled. It gave Molotov in close-up.

This girl got closer still; she got a hand shake with Molotov. She walked right in the delegates' door and when the ushers asked her: "What delegation?" she replied blithely: "UCLA" . . . and went right on. She reached Molotov and he shook hands and smiled. Before she could get his autograph the bodyguards hustled her away.

When we came back to the Press Room all copies of the Molotov speech were gone. The attendants seemed annoyed by the heavy demand. They said they wouldn't print any more. I turned for help to the peppy college girl and she stole one for me. I didn't ask where. She got one for herself too.

By the time I read it over again the San Francisco **Examiner** had published it in full. I went down and ordered 10,000 reprints. I thought GUARDIAN readers would want some. You can get them from me (Box 87, Altadena, Calif.), 50 copies for **$1 postpaid.**